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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

GARRISON AND PHILLIPS ON LINCOLN.

From The Hartford Times.

IN another place we publish a telegraphic sketch of a discussion between Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison at Boston on the merits of Lincoln and his Administration. It is deemed a sufficiently important matter, now, to telegraph all over the country the sayings and doings of these chronic fanatics and sworn enemies of the Union, though they and their treasonable opinions were held, four years ago, in silent abhorrence or contempt by the very men who now strive to be foremost in the race to do them reverence.

This discussion between these two bald-headed veteran disunionists, concerning Lincoln and the next Presidency, is something of a curiosity, and is worth noting as one of the characteristic developments of the day. It seems they disagree, at least.

Phillips, breathing forth the true spirit of abolition despotism, after accusing Lincoln of a tendency to too slow growth, in spite of the watering he has given him, proceeds to declare that either he (Lincoln) must be "CRUSHED INTO SUBMISSION" to all of his (Phillips's) views, "or we must have a different leader for the next four years." What abolition disunion dogma there still is that Lincoln has *not* yet subscribed to, it would be hard to tell—unless, possibly, it may be Phillips's declaration at Framingham, last 4th of July, that the "one step further" now to be taken was "the *amalgamation* of whites with negroes," which, he assured his hearers, was the Providential means for the improvement of the white race and the civilization of the world. Even this doctrine, too, we suppose the President will also accept, if he finds it energetically urged into him by the usual radical "pressure" of which he once made public complaint.

Phillips proceeds to hold out the encouraging assurance that if all of his views are adopted in the conduct of the war, *then*, if we are lucky enough in addition to get Chase for President, Ben Butler in the War Office, Fremont at the head of all our armies, and every public journal made "decent at *command*" (that is, held by the throat!), we may possibly end the war *in two years*—but even that he thinks very doubtful! (In this same speech, by the way, he had ridiculed Chase as an ignorant and calamitous experimenter and blunderer.) He goes on to declare in favor of the disunion policy of Sumner & Co., now accepted and acted upon by the Administration, viz., that the Southern States "should be KEPT OUT" until they change their own domestic institutions to conform perfectly to his ideas! as perfectly as the reflection of a "face in a glass."

This is the actual policy of the Lincoln Administration to-day. The policy of the war is shaped to suit such men as Garrison and Phillips and Sumner, of whom the latter declared to the British Emancipation agent that his only fear was "that the war would end too soon"—before the Abolitionists could accomplish their purpose! That policy, let it never be forgotten, is to "KEEP OUT" the seceded States—to *prevent* Reunion! as is distinctly and undeniably established by the Presidential "amnesty" proclamation.

Old Mr. Covenant-with-Hell Garrison, in reply to his colaborer, took up cudgels in defence of "Old Abe," and declared that the attack on him was unjust—that he (Lincoln) "had TRAVELLED AS FAST TOWARD THE NEGRO as popular sentiment would warrant him in doing."

There can be no question that Garrison told the truth there!

What a happy family!

To what a condition before the gaze of the civilized world have they brought our once honored and respected country!

THE VISIT OF GEO. THOMPSON, M.P.—THE GARRISONIAN SCHOOL.

From The N. Y. Times, Feb. 9.

GEORGE THOMPSON, the famous English Abolitionist, whose oratorical displays against slavery excited such commotion in our large cities thirty years ago, is about to revisit this country. He will undoubtedly be made the object of a good deal of glorification by the old-line anti-slavery men of the Garrisonian stamp. This is well enough for them, for he was once their fellow-laborer and fellow-sufferer. But is he entitled to any such welcome from our people generally? Do the anti-slavery Union men of the North owe him any special tribute of respect and honor for what he once here said and did?

We don't ask this with any reference to the fact that he is an Englishman. Allow, if need be, that he was no intruder here, that he had precisely the same right to deliver himself against American slavery that any American had, our inquiry yet is, whether he is now entitled to American laudation? In other words, we give the question the broad scope whether the Garrisonian school, with which he was identified, deserve well of the Republic? We all rejoice in the downfall of slavery; are we indebted for it to them?

We say emphatically, No! The work was not theirs. It was not theirs either in method or in result. It was not theirs either directly or indirectly, proximately or remotely, as a condition or as a final cause. Precisely the contrary. Had their principles been adopted, and their plans acted upon, slavery at this day would be stronger than ever, and more secure of an indefinite perpetuation. There is no refuting this fact.

What was the distinctive anti-slavery principle of that school? It was that the government of the United States had no right to live in partnership in slavery, and that a government that did so live was not to be supported. Garrison expressed it in the motto of his paper that the "Constitution was a covenant with hell"; and in his practical life of perpetual refusal to vote, or perform any other civil duty, under that Constitution. So preached Thompson. So preached and practiced Wendell Phillips and all the lesser disciples.

In other words these set of men labored exactly for the same end for which John C. Calhoun labored—the dissolution of the Union between the non-slaveholding and the slaveholding States. Their moral purpose differed from his, but their political purpose was exactly the same. In idea opposed as widely as the poles, in action they worked shoulder to shoulder. Calhoun endeavored to break up the Union to save slavery; Garrison endeavored to break up the Union to get loose from slavery. Slavery made the one a disunion man; anti-slavery the other. Yet they both worked, each in his own way, with entire devotion to the common object.

Now what are we fighting? Disunion, are we not? This war has an existence simply and solely because the Northern people have been determined to maintain the entirety of this nation—that is to say, because they have been determined not to permit that which Calhoun and Garrison sought to accomplish. Had the government and the people cherished the hate of the Union which Calhoun and Garrison inculcated, not a soldier would have been raised; Jeff. Davis would have been "let alone" just as he demanded to be; secession would have been peacefully accomplished; and the Confederacy, with its slavery "corner-stone," would now be standing firm and strong, compelling the tribute of all nations. It is war for the Union alone that has prevented this new condition of slavery. More than that, it is this war for the Union alone that is destroying the old condition of slavery. It has not only thwarted the aggrandizement of the institution, but it has, or will, put an end to its very existence. True, this was not be original aim of the war for the Union, but that matters not; it has been an effect of the war, and but for it could never have been realized. With what face, then, can these disunion Abolitionists lay the slightest claim to any credit for the destruction of slavery we are now witnessing?

Is it said that though their political principles were erroneous, their moral agitation against slavery so educated the North as to make possible President Lincoln's election, with all its magnificent anti-slavery results? We deny it. These men did not contribute to that election. They kept utterly aloof from all participation in it. It was effected by an anti-slavery spirit of the North, but not one of their creation or promotion. It was a spirit that resisted the extension of slavery, but a spirit, too, that cherished the Union, and respected the Constitution. It sprang into being long before any man of them saw the light. Our grandfathers had it when they formed the great ordinance excluding slavery from the Northwest. Our fathers had it when they made that stern fight which ended in securing perpetual freedom in all territory north of the parallel, afterward known as the Missouri Compromise line. The pretensions which we sometimes see advanced, that Garrison and Phillips and company generated the anti-slavery sentiments of the North, is monstrous. They began their work in 1833. The halls of Congress never rang with fiercer fulminations against slavery than in 1820. The Sixteenth Congress contended for freedom in Missouri, with every whit as great force in numbers and determination in spirit, as the Thirty-fourth Congress contended for freedom in Kansas. Garrison and Phillips had as little to do in supplying the *morale* of the one struggle as of the other. So far as they had any agency in the last great conflict, it demoralized the North, instead of the reverse. Their hatred of the Union made tens of thousands of honest men confound anti-slavery with disunion, and turned them upon the side of slavery. We have not a particle of doubt that there was not a year in the twenty-five years preceding the rebellion, when the anti-slavery cause in this country would not have further advanced, and been in every respect better off, had William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips, and George Thompson, or disunion abolition speakers and writers like them, never existed.

In no respect is the emancipation, which we are hailing, their work, either politically or morally. Not politically, because they opposed the Union, for which this war was made, which war alone has destroyed slavery. Not morally, for they did what they could to identify anti-slavery with disunion, thereby weakening the resistance of the North to the demands of slavery. Their motives, perhaps, were all right enough. But good motives don't justify a ruinous policy. Nor do they entitle to a share in the credit of others, whose motives have been equally good, and whose policy was infinitely better. Garrison and his colaborers may well rejoice in the emancipation we are now seeing. Nobody grudges them that. They may properly enough congratulate their old English friend upon it, if they like. All anti-slavery men the world over, whether wise or unwise, must of course feel a satisfaction in this result. But the Garrisonians have no right to treat this consummation as *their* victory. They will fail if they undertake to figure as conquering champions. The great anti-slavery North will blow no trumpets over either them or their guest.

Selections.

RIGHT ABOUT FACE!

THE HERALD "AMONG THE PROPHETS."

[Of all the public journals in this country no one has been more conspicuous for its advocacy of slavery and its ribald abuse of Abolitionists than Bennett's *Herald*. Eighteen months ago, it attempted, by base appeals to the ignorance and passion of its readers, to excite against leading friends of the anti-slavery cause a storm of popular indignation and revolutionary violence. Day after day and week after week, it clamored for the imprisonment or death of Phillips, Beecher, Garrison and others, as the only means whereby the wrath of the South could be appeased and the Union restored. It characterized the pro-slavery mob, which in July last turned the city of New York into a Pandemonium, as "a popular uprising of the people," evidently desiring and expecting that its instigators would succeed in their plans for overthrowing the government at Washington and making Jeff. Davis President of the whole country. Remembering these facts, read the following articles from recent numbers of *The Herald*, in which the editor comes out flat-footed for an amendment to the Constitution abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery everywhere within the limits of the United States.]

From the Herald of Feb. 6.

SLAVERY — THE BLUNDERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION — A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT THE ONLY REMEDY.

THE blunders of the Administration in the management of this war are painful to contemplate; and from his first disaster at Manassas to his last *fiasco* in Virginia the record of President Lincoln as a military leader is but a budget of blunders. In some respects, however, his despotic assumptions of power, his crude ideas, and his tinkering experiments in view of a settlement of the slavery question, are more deplorable than his wasteful mismanagement of our armies.

In revoking Gen. Fremont's Missouri edict of emancipation, and in reproving Gen. Hunter for his preposterous South Carolina manifesto, the course of President Lincoln was satisfactory to the country. But in his letter of admonition to Gen. Hunter there was a warning that, if our facetious President could not permit any indulgence in these abolition proclamations by his military subordinates, it was because their Commander-in-chief himself intended to monopolize them, and to use them in good time and in his own peculiar way. And so it came to pass that in September, 1862, we had the initial emancipation proclamation from President Lincoln, warning the rebellious States that unless they should come to terms before the end of the year another proclamation would be issued extinguishing their peculiar institution. They disregarded this warning, and so on New Year's Day, 1863, the thunderbolt of emancipation was launched upon them as a military necessity. It produced at first a great sensation of joy in the abolition camps; but after a while, upon a closer inspection, they found it to be the trick of Jupiter with the frogs, when, for the king which they had called for, he cast down to them a great log into the water. The President had abolished slavery beyond the lines of our armies, where his edict would be a dead letter, and had saved slavery within our military lines, where his proclamation could be made effective. No wonder that he regarded it as a good joke, and described it as "the Pope's bull against the comet."

Another year rolls away, and Mr. Lincoln to his annual message to Congress appends a new proclamation on this everlasting trouble of slavery, embracing an amnesty to the masses of the people concerned in the rebellion. He requires them to endorse his emancipation proclamation and all the concurrent acts of Congress in reference to slavery till repealed or declared void by the Supreme Court. He has made the discovery at last that the Supreme Court may possibly upset all these fine doings some day; but in the meantime he will proceed with this business of swearing in the subjects of Jeff. Davis and reorganizing the rebellious States, on the basis of the Emancipation proclamation, at a venture. Is this the President of the United States engaged in the sound and wholesome work of rebuilding the Union, or is it Don Quixote fighting the windmills? It is indeed the "Knight of the Sorrowful Figure." But where is his faithful henchman, Sancho?

We need not here argue the question to show that all these lame devices of President Lincoln in behalf of universal emancipation, short of some larger remedy, will only serve to make the existing confusion upon this subject worse confounded than ever. They will only serve to prolong the war, and will leave this thing of African slavery as much a bone of contention when the war is over as before the war began, so long as any one of the States of the Union may reëstablish to-morrow the institution which it has overthrown to-day. We would therefore earnestly call the attention of Congress to the fact that there is only one way in which this slavery question may be decisively and firmly settled by universal emancipation, and that now is the opportunity for this great achievement. This way is pointed out in the Federal Constitution, and is simply an amendment of that instrument, declaring slavery abolished throughout the United States. It is thus provided that "the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress."

Here, then, the amendment suggested, passed by a two-thirds vote in each house of Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures or by Conventions of three-fourths of the States of the Union, will abolish slavery at once and forever throughout the length and breadth of the land. And why not? The institution, so long as it exists, can never be anything hereafter except a source of mischief to all concerned. Its usefulness to the South is destroyed; its evils, as a fountain of bitter waters, are all that is left of it. Let Congress pass the amendment indicated, with the reasonable compensation to loyal slaveholders, and the ratification of the States will soon follow. An average allowance of three hundred dollars for the slaves of loyal owners will, we dare say, cover less than a million of slaves. We will assume that the constitutional ratification means three-fourths of all the States, including in the count the rebellious States. This will require three-fourths of thirty-five States, or a ratification of twenty-seven States. There are twenty-four now represented in Congress, exclusive of Old Virginia. Arkansas has returned to the Union as a free State, and Louisiana and Tennessee are following close behind. Thus within a short time we shall have the twenty-seven States required, every one of which, on the test of a popular Convention, will ratify the proposed amendment.

Let Congress, then, apply the remedy suggested, and before the end of the year this vexing and perplexing question of slavery may be settled constitutionally, decisively and forever. And this is the only way to settle it. Nor can there be a shadow of a doubt that the man who puts this ball in motion in Congress will be the commanding spirit of the Union restored.

From the same of Feb. 8.

THE PRESIDENCY—THE DEMOCRACY AND THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

In various manifestations we perceive that the more astute of the managing politicians of the Northern democracy are beginning to realize the fact that the maintenance of Southern slavery for political purposes has become an "obsolete idea"; that, from this terrible war, the institution has received such a shock through all its vitals that it cannot survive; that the hope of restoring it, with the restoration of the Union, as a Democratic balance of power is gone; that the public sentiment of the loyal States is drifting irresistibly along with the current of events to universal emancipation; and that, before the broken fragments of the late Democratic party can do anything, or hope to do anything, as a national organization, they must be relieved of this incubus of Southern slavery.

The immediate and all-important object in view is the next Presidency, and it is morally certain that, upon a pro-slavery platform, the Democracy against an anti-slavery platform will hardly obtain the vote of a solitary State participating in the election. Even in 1865, with the solid vote of the fifteen slave States, the success of Buchanan turned upon a scanty Democratic majority secured in Pennsylvania by a lavish outlay of money in her October election. Since that day Buchanan's administration and this Southern pro-slavery rebellion have forever swept away that Northern conservatism which rested upon the perpetuation of this Southern Democratic balance of power. It needs no argument to prove that this balance of power has disappeared, the foundation upon which it was established being overthrown.

How, then, is the Administration to be met upon this question of slavery? It can be successfully met only by a constitutional platform for the absolute extinction of slavery, against the unconstitutional, incongruous, mischievous and impracticable emancipation scheme of President Lincoln and his party. African slavery was the forbidden fruit and the original sin of the founders of the Constitution. They did the best they could under the circumstances to unite the States concerned and yet to leave the door wide open to emancipation. Neither the word slave nor slavery, nor slaveholder nor master is to be found in the Constitution. The great charter was deliberately framed upon the idea that it would outlive this institution of master and slave, and would need no special amendment to suit the purposes of a Union entirely relieved of slavery. But Whitney's cotton gin was invented, and then, with cotton, the slave on the cotton plantation became a cash article, and slavery flourished apace until it ruled the country through the Democratic party. It failed and the party failed with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and institution and party went to pieces in the suicidal enterprise of breaking up the Union, when only under the protection of the Union could slavery live or pass away quietly from the land. Clearly, then, it has become the policy of the Northern Democracy and all the conservative elements of the country to take a new departure—to strike out boldly for an amendment of the Constitution which will forever settle this troublesome question of slavery by removing the institution from the country. With Gen. Grant as their candidate upon this platform, and in behalf of a speedy and decisive suppression of the rebellion, the people of the loyal States opposed to the existing incompetent and corrupt administration will inevitably secure the crowning victory of the war and an early and glorious peace.

From the same of Feb. 9.

THE PRESIDENCY AND THE SLAVERY QUESTION—THE CAULDRON BEGINNING TO BOIL.

The hints which we have thrown out in reference to the opportunity now presented, and the expediency and necessity of an amendment to the Constitution providing for the complete and permanent abolition of slavery throughout the United States, appear to be running like wildfire among the politicians of all parties.

Mr. Senator Sumner, for instance, abandoning his original disorganizing and destructive programme, involving the reduction of the rebellious States to the condition of one vast wild territory, has just come out with the emphatic declaration that no half-way tinkering devices for the removal of slavery will avail, but that "the Constitution itself must be so amended as to prohibit slavery everywhere within the limits of the Republic—placing universal emancipation under the sanction of the Constitution—so that freedom shall be engraved on every foot of the national soil." This is an important step in the right direction on the part of Senator Sumner. In returning to the ark of the Constitution we are disposed to give him all the benefits of President Lincoln's amnesty.

But, again, it appears that at an emancipation meeting in Washington the other night, that distinguished conservative leader of Maryland, Senator Reverdy Johnson, "not only denounced slavery as the cause of the rebellion, but declared that the Constitution must be so amended as to remove all national recognition of the evil." Verily we are in the midst of a mighty revolution when such hitherto antagonistic bodies as Charles Sumner and Reverdy Johnson are found revolving in harmony around that great central light, the New York *Herald*, as the planets of our system revolve around the sun.

But the best is yet to come. The Washington correspondent of an evening cotemporary assures us that "this creed (the amendment of the Constitution suggested) will be religiously adhered to by the radical wing of the Republican party in the coming Presidential contest"; that "it will be substantially embodied in the platform of a Convention which is to assemble at Louisville on the 22d instant," and that that "Convention will nominate Gen. Fremont, who will not accept a foreign mission; and neither will he withdraw in favor of President Lincoln under any circumstances." But the General will give way to any other candidate occupying the platform of the proposed amendment of the Constitution, against the impracticable and inconsistent schemes and crotchets of Mr. Lincoln.

This simply means that there is an "irrepressible conflict" between the republican radicals and "Old Abe," growing out of his policy of tinkering slavery out of existence in Arkansas, for example, while warming and nursing it into life again in Kentucky, and that Gen. Fremont is the man to kill him off. Nor can we doubt the disposition of Gen. Fremont to do this thing, if we look carefully over the circumstances resulting in the revocation of his Missouri emancipation edict and his removal from his military command in the West, and the appointment of Gen. Pope over his head in Virginia.

Gen. Fremont, however, will give way to Gen. Grant, if brought forward on *The Herald* constitutional platform; and this important fact should be sufficient to induce the friends of Gen. Grant to bring him out formally before the people on the 22d of February, the day appointed by Simeon Draper for a general movement of the shoddy Republicans in behalf of President Lincoln, and the day set apart for this Fremont anti-Lincoln Convention at Louisville. The spirits are at work, "black spirits and white, blue spirits and gray," and the cauldron is beginning to "boil and bubble."

From the same of Feb. 11.

SENATOR SUMNER'S CONSTITUTIONAL PLAN FOR SETTLING THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

Senator Sumner has introduced a proposition in Congress for a constitutional, comprehensive, and conclusive settlement of the slavery question, and the Judiciary Committee of the Senate yesterday, as a corollary, reported an amendment to the Constitution providing for the abolition of slavery through State legislation. Strange as it may appear, Mr. Sumner seems to be the only man in either House upon whom the light of this simple and satisfactory idea has dawned into a conviction that the time has come for action upon it. For three years past the administration, on this subject of slavery, has been wading and floundering about in a dark and dismal swamp of absurdities and incongruities; and Congress all this time with its Emancipation acts and Confiscation bills, and such like foolish experiments, has been groping and floundering deeper and deeper into the mire with the Administration. So befogged and bewildered, too, appear the managers of the Republican party that it is doubtful whether they will be now guided by the constitutional Drummond light held up by Mr. Sumner, or will still follow the Jack-o'-lanterns of Mr. Lincoln till they all in some fathomless bog-hole go down together.

Equally impervious to the lights of reason and sound policy as party organs appear to be the Republican and Opposition party journals of this city. *The Tribune* rolls up its eyes with owlish solemnity, and says, with the dubious voice of an oracle, that Mr. Sumner's scheme is a good thing, but there is a little too much of it, and he is a little too fast. The petty tricksters of *The Times* are silent upon the subject; and we may reasonably infer that they are silent because President Lincoln's hap-hazard abolition policy cannot stand the test of the Constitution. The Democratic wiseacres of the *World* pronounce Mr. Sumner's proposition impracticable, because it is in conflict with all the antecedents and the present policy of the forlorn democracy. The peace and brotherly love professors of *The Daily News* appear to be so intent upon fomenting a repetition of our last July riots that they have no time to spare to discuss a plain and decisive constitutional scheme for the final quenching of this firebrand of Southern slavery. And so we might go on to the end of the catalogue of these political party journals. They are all concerned in some little temporizing tricks and schemes for the spoils and plunder of the Presidential succession, and are afraid to venture beyond the shore line soundings of their party leaders.

Holding no such servile and despicable position, having none of the shackles of party upon our limbs and having no inclination to play the part of Good Man Friday to any party, clique or individual, we are free to keep pace with the drift of public opinion, the great events and the spirit of the age. Hence we find no embarrassment in approving this motion of Senator Sumner for a constitutional amendment which will do away with this Southern institution of slavery completely and forever. We think, too, that without difficulty this proposed amendment may be incorporated in the Constitution before the end of the present year. Let Congress declare that a State in armed rebellion against the Constitution of the United States has no claim to any State rights under that Constitution until it shall again recognize said Constitution, and the difficulty of securing an immediate ratification of this proposed amendment of the supreme law of the land is at once removed. And we hold this to be an unanswerable judgment: that a State in armed rebellion against the Constitution has no claim, nor the shadow of a claim, to any voice in the amendment of the Constitution. Before such State can exercise any such right it must come back to the Constitution. In the meantime our only course is to hold every such rebellious State to the test of war till reduced to submission. Let this proposition, then, be tried in the two Houses of Congress—that a State in rebellion against the Constitution has lost its State rights for the time being under the Constitution—and we predict that a two-thirds vote in the affirmative in each House will be secured. The man who will dare to vote against this proposition will thenceforward be politically dead.

The way thus being cleared, it will be an easy matter to pass the proposed constitutional amendment by a two-thirds vote in each house; and there can be no doubt that within six or three months, as Congress may appoint the day, this amendment would be ratified by three-fourths of the loyal States, each through a State Convention. Then, dispensing with those political humbugs known as Military Governors of rebellious States, and with President Lincoln's unconstitutional and tinkering one-tenth system of restoration, let the revolted States be held to the established rules and articles of war till ready to recognize the Constitution as it stands amended; and then, with the suppression of the rebellion, there will be an end to Southern slavery, root and branch.

Based upon Senator Sumner's proposed constitutional amendment, this is our plan for the settlement of the slavery question. The time and the opportunity for action have fully come, and we truly believe that it only needs a single able, earnest and active man in Congress to put this ball in motion in order to secure the grand and glorious objects in view—of a perfect Union and a solid and permanent peace.

THE FUTURE.

From The Boston Transcript.

WE invite the attention of our readers to the following communication, written by a gentleman who voted for Breckinridge, and who has since learned what slavery is by serving his country in the field. Such an article from such a source indicates the suicidal folly of the rebel leaders in choosing to defend their institution by arms instead of votes. The only friends they have at the North are persons who weaken every cause they espouse.

To the Editor of The Transcript:

Article V. of the Constitution of the United States provides for amendments to that instrument in the following terms:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress."

I suppose, Mr. Editor, the experience of the existing rebellion has definitely determined this proposition, viz.: that no permanent peace can exist between the two sections—free and slave—into which the United States are now divided, until a common condition, either free or slave, be established. I presume that every reflecting man—every man who has investigated the cause and observed the progress of the war, is perfectly well satisfied, that to secure a lasting peace, the essence of the disturbing cause must be forever deprived of life-power to do mischief. Gradual extinction of slavery will only keep the nation in a state of feverish excitement and apprehension. The temptation, while the evil has an ebbing life, to evade the conditions of gradual emancipation, and thereby provoke suspicion of good faith in the consummation of the measure; the chance of succeeding, by secret foreign intrigues, and replenished with more wisely applied resources, in a successful resistance to law and a hope of preserving the cherished institution of slavery, will tempt and invite renewed effort.

All these contingencies and temptations warn us to a *present decisive* dealing with the poison which has filled our national cup to the brim with the bitterness of death and woe. This condition of a common industrial system—free labor—is necessary to permanent peace, whether the two sections be united or separated. Free and slave States cannot live in peace and harmony, under conditions of such close geographical proximity, and antagonistic systems of industry, involving the question of human liberty. Wherever there is a slaveholder there will be an Abolitionist, and the two will be in fierce antagonism. They will come to blows sooner or later.

If these reflections be reasonable and consistent with past and present experience, does it not behoove us to act promptly and decisively in preparing the foundation for a new and better Union which shall indeed be "perpetual"? What should be the first step in this work of regeneration and reconstruction? There can be but one reply to this question—*An amended Constitution!* A Constitution which secures a real equality between the States—an equality in natural representation based on *population and universal freedom.* The act that confirms an amended Constitution, which forever prohibits involuntary servitude in the United States, opens the door to a permanent peace; it also simplifies negotiation with insurgent States for readmission into the Union. The key to that admission is freedom to the slave—free labor; and more than that, it solves all difficulties, because it removes, forever, the disturbing cause which has embittered and imperilled our national existence.

The most expeditious of the methods for amending the Constitution, suggested by Art. 5, is that by the primary act of Congress. We have got to come to this measure sooner or later. Why not move at once?

PEACE.

COLORPHOBIA.

From The Tribune.

A FEW days since, a sergeant of the 1st Corps d'Afrique of Louisiana, who had lost his leg by a gunshot while in battle with the rebels, and who had been sent to a general hospital in this city to be provided with an artificial limb, while attempting to get on board of a Fourth avenue car to go and report himself to the Medical Director, was rudely driven back by the conductor, who said he was ordered by the Directors to allow no negroes to ride in the cars, and he drove on, leaving the crippled soldier in the street. Several outrages of this nature have been committed recently, and by the orders of those who manage our city railroads. Well-behaved and cleanly persons are forced from the cars or refused admittance simply on account of their color. Women and children, decently dressed and respectable, have been thrust into the street, and compelled to walk through the rain and the cold in the darkest and stormiest nights because they were black. The Legislature is now in session, and the Harlem Railroad Company, which owns and controls the Fourth avenue Road, is seeking favors at the hands of our law-makers. Before granting any further privileges to such parties, would it not be proper for our representatives to pass a law prohibiting the arbitrary and cruel treatment of our colored citizens. The Eighth Avenue Road, at the time of the riot, in the opinion of eminent jurists, forfeited its charter by ejecting colored passengers from its cars, and now the Fourth copies the cruel example. Our city railroad companies are common carriers, and they have no legal right to refuse admittance to any respectable person who offers payment for the privilege of riding in the cars. The law makes no distinction in relation to the color of passengers, and the directors have no authority to gratify their prejudices at the cost of humanity and the good fame of our city and country. We hear of no objections from intelligent white persons to sitting in the same car with colored passengers. When the directors of the Eighth Avenue Road refused accommodations to colored persons, vast numbers of our most influential citizens refused to ride over that road, and the public indignation waxed so hot that the timid managers, deeming discretion the better part of valor, removed from the cars the offensive cards on which their prohibition was printed, and allowed negroes to ride in every fourth car. Thus the matter stands. A soldier maimed in the service of his country is forbidden the privilege of riding in a city railroad car. Here is a fit subject for legislators to reflect upon.

From The Principia.

A correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune* writes from Washington:

"A colored Major, in the United States service, summoned as a witness before the court-martial, of which Col. Willetts is President, arriving half an hour after his time, offered as an excuse a written statement, to wit, that dressed in full uniform he entered a car of the Washington and Georgetown Horse Railroad at the other end of the city to proceed to the Court, and was expelled therefrom, and compelled to walk, which delayed his arrival. The President, Col. Willets, promptly indorsed the statement as an outrage upon the officer, and an insult to the Court, and referred the same to Gen. Martindale, who will investigate the matter."

The Washington and Georgetown Railroad Company, we trust, will receive a lesson to be remembered. Everybody knows that colored *servants*, on their masters' or mistresses' errands, can ride in stages and cars, in Washington, and all over the South. It was the color, not of his skin, but of his "full U. S. uniform," that gave the offense. An insult to the United States.

Now for a case nearer home.

To the Editors of The Evening Post:

Last evening I took a seat in one of the Harlem Railroad cars with a friend of mine, who has done much for his suffering country by voice, pen, and means, a taxpayer to a large extent, a Christian minister, a good man. When about half way to Twenty-seventh street, the conductor ordered him to leave the cars because he was black. This gentleman was on a mission of mercy for his country; he has done much to recruit our armies; he has spent his money and time freely. How long is this prejudice to last? Is it any better than robbing a citizen of five cents, then telling him to leave the cars?

JUSTICE.

New York, Feb. 4, 1864.

To the above, it should be added that through the prompt and determined remonstrance of the gentleman who wrote the above, and the absence of any counter-demonstrations among the passengers, the colored gentleman was enabled to keep his seat till he completed his ride.

Another case occurred some weeks since. Several young school misses, up town, were riding down to the Twelfth Street School, in the cars running through University place, when a colored woman wishing to enter the cars, was repulsed by the driver. The young misses indignantly left the cars, and walked a long distance to their school, through a drenching rain. A colored man has since been seen riding in the same line of cars, undisturbed. Ladies have it in their power to settle the question.

PROTEST OF A SLAVEHOLDER.

To the Editors of The Evening Post:

I have read with much interest one or two articles which have appeared recently in your valuable journal, on the subject of the unjustifiable expulsion from the city railroad cars of colored people, who, having paid the fare, in my judgment, are entitled to the privileges accorded to other passengers. On Saturday, I was a witness of a similar act. In University Place, two respectably dressed colored men, who were standing on the forward platform of a car, by the side of the driver, not of course inside, nor on the rear "catch-all" platform, were ejected from their foothold.

Having been a slaveholder myself in a foreign country, and having travelled also before railroads were in vogue at the South, the idea occurred to me that such an act would have been sternly denounced in any slaveholding part of the world; it being notorious that the slave drives and rides by the side of his master, who, apart from this fact, is never guilty of the atrocious disregard of good manners and good breeding which characterizes very many of our railroad riders.

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

[Extract from a speech by Gen. GANTT of Arkansas.]

IT is sometimes said that the Emancipation proclamation prolonged the war. Ah! did it! How did it prolong the war? Let us see whether it prolonged it or not. I say, it is one of the hardest blows we ever got, and I know, for I felt it myself. When Lincoln commenced fulminating his proclamations, he commenced hitting us pretty hard. What did we tell him? We told him where our strength lay. Samson's strength lay in his locks; when those were shorn off, he was no stronger than I am. We told Mr. Lincoln where our strength lay; that it was in our four million of slaves, who would cultivate the soil, when all the white men of the South went to war, while you had to leave just that many white men at home to cultivate the soil. Did we not say that? Very well. We were not very smart, it is true, in saying that; we ought to have kept it to ourselves; but God Almighty intended this thing should be overturned, and therefore made us just as big fools, on this question, as possible (laughter).

Well, some Northerner was shrewd enough to see that—I don't know who it was—and Mr. Lincoln thought of the idea of making proclamation against us, as well as trying to shoot us. We laughed at it first. We said, "If you can make anything out of it, try it on! It don't apply to us, for we have got a government and Constitution; and it can't apply to your government, because you haven't got any niggers. You can't proclaim against our Constitution any more than Queen Victoria, or any more than you could proclaim the serfs of Russia free, because we are a different government." Well, we were a little like the people of the olden time, when God proclaimed that a flood was to sweep over the earth and destroy all the people.

Old Noah set about building the ark, and the people christened it "Noah's folly." So we christened Lincoln's proclamation "Lincoln's folly." But the rains descended, and by and by the floods came; but still men feasted and danced, and did not believe there would be a flood that would sweep over the entire country. The people on the hills looked down upon those in the valleys, in the extremity of their peril, and said, "We are sorry for you," thinking they themselves were out of the reach of the water; but by and by the floods climbed the hills, overtopped the high mountains, and Noah's ark rested upon Mount Ararat, and only those who were within it were saved. So this proclamation of Lincoln went southward, and people laughed at it. But around it rallied brave hearts; with it was the Constitution of the country; over it was the flag, and as your army marched southward, still southward, from the blazing throat of every cannon the proclamation was thundered, and the chains fell from the limbs of manacled slaves (loud applause).

A CONTRAST FROM THE CENSUS.

THE rebel journals declare that the oppressions of the "Confederate" government and the high prices of materials in the South have produced a very serious mortality among the Southern newspapers, so that but thirty-five dailies now remain alive in all the rebellious States. The Southern mind, which receives the principal part of its instruction on stumps by the wayside, probably will not miss the dead journals, and the world generally will be none the worse for this sudden demise; but still it is curious to look back to the census of 1860, to see what was the condition of the Southern press four years ago. In that year there were nine hundred and seventy-nine political journals published in all the slave States, against two thousand two hundred and sixty-three of the same class in the free States. Of this number, *ninety-one* were Southern dailies; now there are, according to the rebel confession, but *thirty-five*. The dailies in the free States, four years ago, numbered two hundred and eighty-one; they have increased since that time, instead of dying out—but then we of the loyal States do *not* receive wayside-stump instruction.

By way of comparison, we give the census statistics by States, in parallel columns, taking the figures of 1860:

POLITICAL PAPERS PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1860.

FREE STATES.	*Total.*	*Dailies.*	SLAVE STATES.	*Total.*	*Dail's.*
California	96	22	Alabama	89	9
Connecticut	45	14	Arkansas	34	—
Illinois	259	23	Delaware	13	—
Indiana	172	13	Florida	20	—
Iowa	119	9	Georgia	75	12
Kansas	24	3	Kentucky	65	4
Maine	48	7	Louisiana	68	4
Massachusetts	112	17	Maryland	57	6
Michigan	109	8	Mississippi	70	5
Minnesota	47	4	Missouri	141	15
New Hampshire	17	—	North Carolina	60	8
New Jersey	79	15	South Carolina	33	2
New York	365	68	Tennessee	66	3
Ohio	256	22	Texas	71	3
Oregon	13	2	Virginia	117	15
Pennsylvania	277	28			
Rhode Island	18	5	Total	979	91
Vermont	26	2			
Wisconsin	149	14			
Dist. of Columbia	13	5			
Nebraska	13	—			
New Mexico	2	—			
W't'n Territory	4	—			
Total	2,263	281			

These figures do not include the religious, literary, or miscellaneous publications in either section. If these were added, the disparity would appear still more striking. The record, as it stands, is sufficiently indicative of the difference between South and North in intellectual progress and activity. But let us follow the parallel a step further, taking, for the purpose of present comparison, the condition of the States yet remaining under rule, where Southern "institutions" still have sway, namely: Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and part of Virginia. The political papers published in these States in 1860 numbered, all told, *fifty-four*, and of these all but thirty-five are dead from the pressure of want. While Georgia, the "Empire State" of the South, in her best days supported only seventy-five papers (twelve of which were dailies), with a population of 1,057,286, the people of Massachusetts bought and read one hundred and twelve journals every year (seventeen of them dailies), when the whole population

succeed in establishing these principles as foundation stones of a new empire, what have we been about for years and years in preaching and teaching that slavery is a curse, and that it is the greatest degradation that can fall upon a country, why have we been endeavoring to inoculate every country with which we have been in contact with our ideas as to the necessity of abolishing the slave trade, and therefore I say slavery also, because if slavery is right, then the slave trade is not wrong. Well, if the Southern States of America are right in endeavoring by force of arms to establish this model slave republic, then I say we have all been previously in the dark; we have been poor benighted beings, that have lost sight or have not been aware of the great truth which Mr. Stephens and others have taught in the Southern States of America, that the normal condition of the negro, his only proper natural condition in the world, is that of shame; but as we are told by this same gentleman, Mr. Stephens, that this government of the Confederate States, which is about to be established will be the first government in the history of the world that is giving the lie as it were to all the canting policy which has been supported by England and other countries against slave institutions—if this be the state of affairs, can I, as an Englishman, wish or hope for success to such a cause? I sympathize with nations struggling for independence, but that is not the question here (hear, hear). No man has alleged a grievance in the Southern States except the growing sentiment of the North against the institution of slavery? No man has said that in the South any right has been withheld, or that any wrong has been without a remedy; and, in fact, Mr. Jefferson Davis himself has lauded the institutions of the country in reference to the past, but has only said that in the future he sees looming that growing sentiment which will endanger the slave institutions of the South, and which must continue to embitter the relations between the North and the South if it went on, and that therefore it was better to separate. Well, I believe myself that one end of this great civil war in America, that one termination, at any rate, will be the abolition of slavery (cheers). My honorable and respected friend, Mr. Bright (loud cheers), is often charged with wanting to introduce American institutions into England. Well, I say, with regard to this American war, the South rebelled and raised this insurrection because they foresaw that English institution, viz., the emancipation of the slave, was about to be introduced into their country. It was the resistance to this policy of ours—to the policy of England of all other countries in the world—that gave rise to this great insurrection (hear). We are told sometimes that tariff questions had something to do with it. Disabuse your minds entirely of that idea. I assert—and, if there were time, could prove to you by the clearest demonstration—that tariff questions had nothing on earth to do with the quarrel between North and South. Why, the South were never united upon the question of free trade—the South never held one opinion upon the question of protective duties. On the contrary, Louisiana was for protecting her sugar, and other States of the South were for protecting their produce; but as for its having anything to do with the form of government, why, if America had been a monarchy, if it had been an empire like France, when these two great sentiments—freedom of labor on the one side, and slavery on the other—came into collision, on the scale in which they exist in America, what are the certain consequences? Why, we did not find it so easy to emancipate our slaves in England. We had some trouble; we paid £20,000,000; and we had a long, eager agitation in which there was much embittered feeling, and my firm belief is, that if the slave party in England had borne the same proportion to the rest of the community when emancipation was demanded in this country, which they bore in the United States at the commencement of the civil war, it is very probable you would not have been able to get through your emancipation in this country without a resort to arms, or perhaps to the secession of your slave countries to some other slave country, where there would have been a greater affinity to themselves (hear, hear). Now it is remarkable what is going on at the present moment in the North; notwithstanding this tremendous pressure upon their resources, which no doubt will raise a very large debt, but which debt I believe that country will, with its growing population and its vast means, be enabled to bear. I have got in my hand a report of the Commissioner of Agriculture in the United States for the last year, and I find that in 1862 there was grown in that country, 169,993,500 bushels of wheat. I find in 1863 that that quantity has increased to 191,068,239 bushels. I find that nearly all articles of agricultural produce have increased considerably even during this war, and notwithstanding the fact that no less than a million of men employed in the army and navy have been withdrawn, chiefly from the agricultural producing class. Notwithstanding we see this remarkable statement. Perhaps emigration may in some measure account for it, for I find that large numbers of adventurers from every part of Europe are still crowding the shores of the United States. I find that the Commissioner says that "while some as adventurers seek this western world for military fame, stimulated by our large bounties and chances of promotion or to fight sincerely the battles of freedom and equality, the greater part come to labor to enjoy independence and quiet, and to make happy though humble homes for themselves and their children. According to the report of the New York Commissioners of Emigration, the number of emigrants arriving at that port were 146,519 against 67 307 during 1862. This proportional increase holds good in respect to the other great ports of our country, and independent of the large number of persons from Canada for portions of America." I will read only one small passage more of the Commissioner's report, because if I were to go on at any length, I should read some opinions which would be held to be unpalatable in certain quarters (laughter). I shall confine myself to one passage, in which he wishes to indicate some of the causes which have led to this great immigration at this particular time in the United States. He says, "To an intelligent mind, and especially to every American, the causes of this influx of foreign population, even during a period of war, are very evident and gratifying. I shall simply indicate some of them, without discussing them at length. In the first place, the present rebellion is being understood abroad in its true light, as a revolt against democracy, the rights of labor, and human nature; and that the triumph of the government guarantees to immigration its great reward of peace, prosperity, and freedom" (cheers).

IMPORTANT PETITION TO CONGRESS.

The following is the Form of Petition adopted in compliance with the vote of the late Thirtieth Anniversary Meeting at Philadelphia; and which has been approved by leading anti-slavery men of various parties and denominations. The subject is one of vital moment, and the exigencies of the time point to this action as absolutely necessary to a speedy, honorable, and safe conclusion of the war. We ask our friends and readers, one and all, to interest themselves and those about them in the immediate and extensive circulation of this Petition. It is so brief that it may readily be copied at the head of a letter sheet; or a printed copy may be obtained by writing to either of the anti-slavery offices in Philadelphia (106 North Tenth St.), New York (48 Beekman St.), or Boston (221 Washington St.). Let the action be prompt and vigorous. Those who have already signed the Loyal Women's Petition need not hesitate to sign this also, as the two, though in harmony, are not identical. Friends! let the word be, Immediate! Not an hour is to be lost.

☞ When the signing is completed let the Petition be forwarded, at once, to some reliable member of Congress; or, if preferred, to one of the offices already named, where it will meet with prompt attention.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of believing Slavery the great cause of the present rebellion, and an institution fatal to the life of Republican government, earnestly pray your honorable bodies to immediately abolish it throughout the United States; and to adopt measures for so amending the Constitution as forever to prohibit its existence in any portion of our common country.

MEN. | WOMEN.

Books for Camp and Home.—James Redpath announces a series of ten cent Books for the Camp Fires, of a much higher class than the dime publications now in the market. They will contain from 96 to 124 pages; new type, good paper—"neatly bound in greenbacks." No. 1 is—"On Picket Duty and Other Tales," by Miss L. M. Alcott, whose Hospital Sketches has been one of the most popular books of the season. No. 2 is "Clotelle, a Tale of the South," by Wm. Wells Brown, with five fine illustrations. No. 3 is—"The Vendetta," one of Balzac's best tales, translated for the publisher. No. 4 is—Gulliver's Travels in Lilliput. No. 5 is Victor Hugo's eloquent description of the Battle of Waterloo. Each number is complete in itself and unabridged. Twelve cents sent to the publisher will secure a specimen copy, postage paid, to any home or camp address—or sixty cents for the list above announced. No. 11 out, and the five will all be published before the close of February. Address, Jas. J. Spelman, 37 Park Row, New York.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1864.

"THE TIMES" AND THE ABOLITIONISTS.

We print in another place a leader from *The Times* of this city which will repay a perusal on the part of our readers. It is one of the many testimonies we have had to the power of the Anti-Slavery Movement, which have accompanied it from the beginning, but which have been growing fewer, as it advanced towards its consummation. We are used to being told that we were standing in the way of the slave. We have heard that cry from the very first. It was we that frightened Virginia and Kentucky from setting free their slaves a quarter of a century ago. At least, when they were setting about it in good faith and meaning to do it out of hand, they reconsidered their design and postponed it forever because the Abolitionists thought they ought to do it and said so. Some said we had put back Emancipation fifty years, others a hundred, other some two hundred, and yet others forever. The assertions of *The Times*, though animated and forcible, are not original. We have had the same doctrine thrust into our ears against the stomach of the sense ever since we had a name to live. But it was our singular infelicity that, while we were doing all this in behalf of slavery and securing to it this perpetuity of life, slaveholders and their Northern friends, holding this very language about us, repaid our good offices by mobbing our meetings, burning our halls, breaking up our presses, shooting our editors, and hanging any one suspected of holding our sentiments if found within the region whose peculiar institution we were doing so much to promote. This, we must say, has an ungrateful look, and, unless explained away, tends to disparage the high character for chivalric honor which is the proudest boast of our erring brethren of the South. We trust that *The Times* will show why those generous spirits should have thus evilly entreated men, however weak in their intellects, who had secured the blessings of slavery to themselves and their posterity for two or three centuries, if not forever. It seems to us that Georgia, instead of offering by legislative enactment, still unrepealed, a reward of five thousand dollars for the arrest and delivery of Mr. Garrison into her hands, should have settled upon him a pension to that amount for life, besides erecting a statue to him, as the greatest of her benefactors.

But republics are proverbially ungrateful, and we can only regret that commonwealths reposing on the only authentic corner-stone, should prove no exception to the rule. If it be true, as *The Times* asserts, that Garrison, Phillips and all the rest of the Abolitionists have had nothing and less than nothing to do in the moral revolution which always goes before the face of armed ones, we can only say that they have had hard measure dealt out to them. Garrison mobbed in the streets of Boston, and only saved by being put into jail; Lovejoy shot for defending his property and maintaining the liberty of the press at Alton; Pennsylvania Hall burnt in Philadelphia; the Knights of the Golden Circle organized to put down the Abolitionists, and seeking the life of Wendell Phillips for Sunday after Sunday at noon-day in the Puritan capital, besides breaking up numberless meetings all over the North, Boston inclusive; these things show a want of intelligence and good sense on the part of these patriotic citizens which must grieve the righteous soul of *The Times*. The slaveholders themselves, certainly, cannot be the intelligent and acute persons they have been held to be, if they have been led into this blundering rebellion to rid themselves of the Abolitionists and their works, when they really had no reason to complain of them, but, contrariwise, to applaud and encourage them as fellow-laborers and co-workers for a common end, though from directly opposite motives. And we fear the very press of the country, not excepting *The Times* itself in a former state of existence, if we do not misremember, has not shown that omniscience in its vocation which belongs to it, if it be true that the Abolitionists have had no influence upon the public opinion, and its political expression, of the North. We might have been spared some distribes and denunciation which have been poured without mercy upon our heads, if we were really so innocent of mischief as *The Times* would make it appear that we are. It surely was a waste of energy to break such butterflies upon the wheel. If harmless, we might at least have been left in the insignificance which should attend the harmless. Why persuade the people that we were a mischievous folk, disturbing the peace of Church and State, and provoking popular violence and general dislike against us, when we were guiltless of all harm in action and only influenced by good intentions?

We do not propose to reply seriously to the propositions contained in the article in question. They do not deserve a serious answer. The Abolitionists feel no grudge at any man who thinks and says that they have done nothing at all, or nothing but evil, and that continually. And they would not thank any one for defending them against such attacks. They did not enter into the movement for any greed of glory any more than for any lucre of gain. They expected to do the work and to have others enter into the harvest. All they asked was to be permitted to fill the ditch with their bodies, to make a bridge over which others might pass to the victory and the triumph. If slavery be abolished, there is no Abolitionist that will care who has the credit of doing it. The Abolitionists have ever been willing, and now wish, to stand aside and let others do the work and have all the credit of doing it, provided the work be actually done. We believe, indeed, that we have had a task given us to do, and that we have done it, and done it pretty well. Of this fact we accept as evidence the denunciations of the slaveholders and the strictures of such sort of Republicans as the writer in *The Times*. When it is worth while to write a column to prove that men have done nothing, it is very likely to be inferred that they must have done something to call for the argument. On this tacit admission on the part of *The Times* we should be content to rest the case, were it one worth arguing. But to what end should we argue with one who can see no practical difference between Garrison and Calhoun, and who cannot distinguish between the Abolitionists separating themselves from the government because of the oath to support the Constitution, then held to be established and maintained for slavery chiefly, which oath they would not break and could not keep, and the rebels who have plunged their country into the bloodiest war of the century through perjury, theft and treason! Let slavery be abolished, and we care not who has the credit of the abolition. Only, till it be abolished, we shall feel that we have a work to do, like to that which we have always found ready to our hands—a work of agitation, of criticism, of warning, which, if it do no good, at least—*The Times* being witness—will do no harm.

We must add one word, however, upon the plain purpose of the article in question—a wish to prejudice the public of this city against Mr. George Thompson, who has lately arrived at Boston, on a visit to this country. The *animus* of the article is nothing less than malignant towards that eminent person, and would be beneath contempt did it not issue from a paper professing to represent a section of the Republicans—that nearest to the Copperheads. It denies that Mr. Thompson is entitled to any welcome from the people generally, and asks, "Do the anti-slavery Union men of the North owe him any special tribute of respect and honor for what he once said and did here?" On that subject we will be silent, and permit the Anti-Slavery Union men in question to make up their minds for themselves. But we will say that there is no man living, not an American, who deserves such a tribute from all such men.

LETTER FROM F. W. CHESSON.

Emancipation Society. Offices—65 Fleet st., London, E. C., January 23d, 1864.

My Dear Sir: The *soirée* held at Radley's Hotel on Saturday night, in honor of Mr. George Thompson, was as successful as his best friends (and their name is "legion") could have desired. About one hundred of the worthiest men of the metropolis assembled to pay a farewell tribute of respect and admiration to their valued colleague. The report published in *The Morning Star* will give you some idea of the proceedings generally. Our esteemed Chairman, Mr. William Evans, fortunately returned from the United States in time to preside on the occasion. Many of our friends, who were unable to be present, sent letters full of sympathy with the objects of the meeting and of good wishes for Mr. Thompson's health and happiness while on your side of the water. I fancy that if your distinguished coadjutor, Mr. Wendell Phillips, could have attended this or other meetings held in the metropolis he would not so often pain his English friends and admirers (who may be numbered by tens of thousands) by attributing to the British people feelings of hatred towards America which they do not entertain, and the non-existence of which has been amply proved by the history of our great movements during the last fifteen months. My sole object in writing on this ocasion is to call your attention to the representave character of the man who moved the address to Mr. Thompson. As an eloquent advocate of popular rights, Mr. Henry Vincent was peculiarly qualified to move the resolution. With a tongue as persuasive as his heart is full of generous sympathies, he combines the best attributes of the patriot and the orator. Could anything be more appropriate than the selection of so illustrious a Frenchman as M. Victor Schœlcher to second the address? The biographer of Handel was the member of the French provisional government (would that it had been as enduring as this, the greatest of its achievements!) who originated and carried out the measure of emancipation which brought liberty to the slaves of France—a measure which succeeding governments have felt it necessary to respect. Your noble-hearted Consul, Mr. Morse (what a contrast between him and his predecessors!), in supporting the address may be said to have represented the governing class of America. If the meeting had been a patriotic one, he, of course, could not have taken part in it, but its purely social and complimentary character enabled him to offer an eloquent tribute to the labors of Mr. Thompson. In Mr. Conway we had a son of Virginia regenerated by the Puritan atmosphere of New England—a man who, having set a blessed example to his Southern kinsmen and assisted in the Northern battle for freedom, is now coöperating—heart and soul—with us in our efforts to enlighten the British people on the same great question. After Mr. Thompson had spoken, Dr. Massie (who, you know, is a veteran in every good cause) and Mr. Mason Jones also addressed the meeting. Both have recently visited America and both therefore were able to give weighty testimony. The Doctor is about to add to his other great services by the publication of a work describing his trans-Atlantic experiences.

Mr. Bright, as you will see, was not present; but he sent an incomparable letter which I trust you will transfer to your columns. Mr. Bright's eulogies are always discriminating, and although he exalts Mr. Thompson to a lofty pedestal, who will say that the honor is in excess of that gentleman's deserts? One word more and I have done. I feel it to be a simple act of justice to say that the beautiful address to Mr. Thompson was from the pen of our gifted colleague, Mr. Washington Wilks. Yours very truly,

F. W. Chesson.

Oliver Johnson, Esq., Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SALMON P. CHASE.

Philadelphia, Feb. 10th, 1864.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Your Washington correspondent is unknown to me, but I always read his letters with interest, and generally before any other, and agreeing with him almost always, I feel justified in saying "no" to some things he writes. I wish now to say so very emphatically against his assertion of the moral courage of Mr. Chase. It is just where he is deficient. He has shown it upon two very important occasions. Once when he saved Seward, and the other when he sacrificed Margaret Garner, and he will again when similar emergencies arise unless the leopard can change his spots.

Secretary Chase was one of the stubbornest hard money men in the West. He has, up to 1861, strenuously advocated low revenue and direct taxation. Where is he now on these questions? Do I hear his friends say *circumstances* have overruled him? True, they have, and *he* will say they did in the Garner and Seward cases, which will only confirm my impression of him after a pretty careful study of his character; *that circumstances and not principles guide and control him.* Besides, he is a man of a cold and selfish temperament, very much like James Buchanan, whom he resembles in other traits of character.

Yours respectfully, O P. Q.

Parker Pillsbury's Lecture on "The Mystery of the War," delivered in the Church of the Puritans, in this city, on Wednesday evening, the 10th inst. attracted an audience that filled two-thirds of that capacious house of worship. The lecture was a written one, exhibiting in bold relief the peculiarities of thought and style for which Mr. P. has so long been distinguished. As a specimen of word-painting in dark colors, it exceeded anything we ever heard before, even from him. His burden was, the guilt of this country in enslaving the negro, in describing which his strong intellectual and fine imaginative powers were set in full play. He thundered and lightened as only Parker Pillsbury can, making his auditors fairly hold their breath in mingled astonishment and admiration. But the most astonishing thing of all was, the appearannce of Parker Pillsbury in Dr. Cheever's pulpit, and the sight of the Doctor himself applauding the very sentiments, for uttering which, in times past, Mr. Pillsbury was put under ban by the Church as an "infidel iconoclast," who had assumed the garb of an Abolitionist in order to give Christianity a deadly stab! A few years ago, after Dr. Cheever had incurred a great amount of odium by his uncompromising way of preaching against slavery, Mr. Pillsbury hurled his thunders at him as one of the "most dangerous of men" to the anti-slavery cause, while the Doctor, on the other hand, thought Mr. P. little if anything better than an infidel! Now they stand shoulder to shoulder in loving coöperation. In view of changes like these, who can help taking a hopeful view of the state of the country?

Mr. Pillsbury repeats his lecture, on Friday evening of this week, in Prof. Mattison's Church, Fortieth street, near Sixth avenue.

WOMEN'S PETITION FOR EMANCIPATION.

We give below the form of petition adopted by the Women's National Loyal League. If any of our readers are not otherwise supplied, they can copy this on a sheet of paper and commence at once the work of obtaining signatures.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

(Men)

The Undersigned, Women of the United States above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your Honorable Body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an Act emancipating all Persons of African descent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States.

Name. | *Residence.*

When the sheet is filled, add others of the same width to the foot of it, with paste or mucilage. The signatures should be by the persons themselves, or else written at their request. Add, at close of each petition, the number of signatures contained, and name of Town, County and State whence it comes. Return to Women's National Loyal League, 20 Cooper Institute, New York

Stephen S. Foster will deliver a lecture at the Church of the Puritans, in this city, on Wednesday evening, March 2d.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, Feb. 15th, 1864.

For a week past, the hub of the universe has been favored with an unusual amount of eloquence, native and foreign.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, the 10th inst., a very large audience assembled in Faneuil Hall, called together by the announcement that Col. N. G. Taylor, of East Tennessee, would speak of the sufferings to which the loyal citizens of that region are reduced in consequence of the war. Hon. Edward Everett was made President of the meeting, and commenced its proceedings by a speech, introducing the chief orator of the occasion, and recounting some of the circumstances which entitled the people of his State to sympathy and active aid from the men of Boston, and of Massachusetts.

Col. Taylor having set forth, in an extended speech of great interest, the necessities of the people whom he came to represent, resolutions were offered, and unanimously adopted by the meeting, expressing the feelings naturally excited by this narrative, and calling upon our Legislature to make a liberal grant in aid of the loyal citizens of East Tennessee. The officers of the meeting were made a Committee to present this request to the Legislature, and a bill, appropriating $100,000 for this purpose, was introduced the next day, and is now passing through the processes of enactment.

The same evening, Hon. John Z. Goodrich, Collector of this port, an old associate with Col. Taylor in Congress, gave a complimentary party in his behalf at the U. S. Hotel, at which a very large number of gentlemen were present.

After introduction to the guests, Col. Taylor addressed them briefly, and the party partook of a sumptuous entertainment, after which speeches were made by several other gentlemen. Among these, by request, George Thompson made some brief remarks, congratulating his hearers and himself on the favorable prospect of American affairs, and rejoicing in the assurance that out of this rebellion would grow a nobler State, and a higher plane of liberty.

In concluding his remarks, Mr. Thompson made an eloquent reference to George Washington as the founder of American Independence, and to Abraham Lincoln, by his proclamation of Emancipation, as the founder of American Liberty. His remarks received enthusiastic applause, and at their close nine hearty cheers were given for the speaker.

On the same evening, Frederick Douglass gave a lecture in the Tremont Temple, on the state and prospects of the country, and on the share that ought to be assigned to the black man in the pending struggle. He himself was ready to join in the war, or in the service of the country in any department, as soon as a commission should be given him. About a thousand people had assembled to hear Mr. Douglass, but their interest was somewhat chilled by being obliged to wait for him until twenty minutes after the appointed time. The bareness of the platform and galleries seemed to have a chilling effect upon the orator himself, for it was only in the latter part of the address that he spoke with the accustomed energy, and awoke the accustomed enthusiasm in his audience.

On Thursday evening, in the same Hall, Miss Anna E. Dickinson repeated the thrilling Address which she had delivered in Washington and elsewhere, entitled, "Words for the Hour." She was introduced to the audience by Hon. A. H. Bullock, Speaker of the House of Representatives, with some eloquent remarks on the work performed by woman in relieving the hardships and sufferings of the war, and on her not less appropriate work of cheering the soldier to meet the labors and dangers involved in the defence of his country.

Miss Dickinson met with an enthusiastic reception from the immense audience, and her address, full of fire and energy, received frequent and long continued demonstrations of applause. She held the assembly through long periods in breathless silence, then shook them with laughter, then moved them to tears.

We had been told of the deep interest manifested in this lecture by President Lincoln, when he heard it in Washington. It was therefore most gratifying to hear that it contained some of the truths most needful to be recalled to the mind of that functionary, about the urgent need of enlisting the services of the colored race in our behalf, the duty of offering to that oppressed people some reparation for the wrongs they have hitherto endured, and the unspeakable meanness of refusing them the pay, the consideration and the chance of promotion which belong to soldiers of the United States, after the nation has asked for their services in that capacity. These points were put in the clearest and strongest light. If the President shall still permit the continuance of this worst and basest form of grinding the face of the poor, it will not be through inadvertence. He has had the truth plainly set before him.

In a conspicuous place on the crowded platform were Col. Taylor of Tennessee, and George Thompson, recently arrived from England, both of whom were greeted with applause on their entrance.

To Col. Taylor, a resident in Tennessee, the centre of the domain of slavery, and himself a slaveholder all his life, though now forced by circumstances to turn against slavery as the only means of suppressing the rebellion, the spectacle of that evening must have been novel and impressive. He had probably never heard a woman speak before, and had perhaps never heard in a public speech the claim for recognition of the negro's manhood, and of the extension to him of all the rights, civil and political, which manhood implies, so clearly set forth as in the address of that evening. We know the reputation which Boston bears, throughout Dixie, of being the hot-bed of radicalism, and no doubt Col. Taylor had shared this idea with his Southern friends; but seeing is believing; and the enthusiastic manner in which Miss Dickinson's strongest points were echoed and applauded by the vast audience must have impressed her Southern hearer with a new view of the breadth and depth of Northern ideas of reform.

After the close of the lecture, loud calls were made for a speech from Col. Taylor, but the hoarseness naturally following his extended speeches on the previous afternoon and evening compelled him to decline. George Thompson was then called for, and the audience persisted in keeping their places and continuing their calls until he arose to respond to them. Then a tumult of applause, thrice repeated, showed the hearty sympathy of Boston with the English friend of the American people.

Mr. Thompson commenced by referring to the difficulty necessarily felt even by one *not* unaccustomed to public speaking, in commanding the attention of an audience yet under the spell of such eloquence as they had just heard. He proceeded to speak briefly of the striking contrast between this period and that time, twenty-nine years ago, when America cast him from her as a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy of the Union; when he was thought worthy not only to be mobbed by the people, but to be denounced by the President in his annual Message to Congress. He declared his own position in regard to us to have remained unchanged to the present moment; and he pointed with just pride to the record of the last words he had spoken on taking leave of this country, as follows: "America will yet witness another revolution. The first, a great, a noble one, was for Independence; the second, holier, more benign, more blessed, more impartial, will be for Liberty. But you, the people of Massachusetts, will live, and I pray God I may live, to see the day when the principles for which I am hated, persecuted and banished will be the principles of the Old Bay State." Far from being an enemy of America, he had been and still was an almost idolatrous admirer of our country. Nothing in our public events had surprised him, except the present enthusiasm for the cause which he had formerly pleaded apparently in vain. In regard to that subject he could add nothing, nor was anything needed after the eloquent address to which they had just listened. America might well be proud of her daughter.

Mr. Thompson gave a warm tribute of admiration to the pathos, argument, satire, eloquence, humor, sarcasm, well-directed denunciation and *power* of Miss Dickinson's address, and closed by rejoicing in the near prospect of the time she had foretold, when universal liberty, and a government by all and for all, without distinction of clime, color, class or condition, should be established throughout this country.

To-morrow evening we are to have the pleasure of hearing a lecture from Mr. Thompson (the third in the supplementary course given by the Parker Fraternity), on "The Popular Sentiment of England in regard to America and the Rebellion." On Tuesday of next week a Grand Reception Meeting will be held for Mr. Thompson in the Music Hall, under the auspices of Gov. Andrew and other gentlemen eminent in this city and State, when there will be an expression of the feeling entertained here respecting the eminent service which his eloquence has rendered to our cause in England.

In my enumeration of admirable public addresses, the discourse of Wendell Phillips, delivered yesterday (Sunday) before the 28th Congregational Society of Boston, must not be forgotten. His subject was "Plainness of speech, and the duty of men to scrutinize the official conduct of their rulers, and to apply frank and fearless criticism to their acts." Commencing with a reference to the democratic character of Christianity, which not only had no secrets for an exclusive class, and showed no favor to wealth or education, but which appealed to the people at large, and to each individual, as a jury competent to decide and condemn in all matters of right and wrong—he went on to show that careful watch over the proceedings of leaders, in a popular government, is not an indifferent matter, but an affair of duty; that we are not at liberty to indulge our indolence by knowing little or nothing of the officers and measures of government; that our Christian duty is to know the State and its rulers, and to *tell* what we know concerning them, in terms transparently frank; and that it is the special duty of private individuals to exercise this oversight and utter this free criticism, since these cannot be expected from the press, the pulpit or the politicians. North.

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, Feb. 14, 1864.

The Conscription bill has passed the House after a very long debate. The Democrats and Opposition generally attempted to prevent a vote on the bill for the two last days of the contest upon it, principally because of an amendment that Mr. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania offered and the House adopted. The amendment provides simply that slaves shall be subject to draft like white men. In other words, the new Conscription act will refuse to acknowledge that slaves are property. It puts them upon an equality with "white trash" in the slave States when it comes to fighting! Yet, to save the slaveholders of the border States from the loss of a few slaves, and to oblige the non-slaveholders to enter the military service in the place of those slaves, the Opposition fought for two days! It is surprising to see how the Democrats cling to dirty work as a steady occupation. They can't forget their early training, or won't forget it, and without the hope of ever being paid for it, they fight for slavery, the very cause of the downfall of the Democratic party.

Mr. Odell of Brooklyn is the only Democrat who voted for the bill, I believe. Two or three other Democrats were afraid to vote against it, and so dodged it altogether. This is more contemptible than voting against a good bill. Of all men in Congress there is none so mean as he who is afraid to vote upon a measure under the impression that it will appear that he was necessarily absent. Then if the bill should become popular, he can claim that he would have voted for it if he had been in the House; or, if it should turn out to be unpopular, he can also claim that if he had been present he would have voted against the bill! Let the people always keep a sharp eye on the dodgers, for nine times out of ten they will be found to be dishonest in everything.

I am glad to see that Congress is taking hold of the "colored car" question in this District. Mr. Sumner has offered the following resolution in the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on the District of Columbia be directed to consider the expediency of further providing by law against the exclusion of colored persons from the equal enjoyment of all railroad privileges in the District of Columbia.

It was at once adopted, the Democrats in the Senate voting against it. Mr. Sumner presented the following letter, addressed by Surgeon Augusta (colored) to Judge-Advocate Clippington. It explains itself:

Washington, Feb. 1, 1864.

Sir: I have the honor to report that I have been obstructed in getting to the court this morning by the conductor of car No. 32, of the Fourteenth street line of the city railway.

I started from my lodgings to go to the hospital I formerly had charge of to get some notes of the case I was to give evidence in, and hailed the car at the corner of Fourteenth and I streets. It was stopped for me, and when I attempted to enter the conductor pulled me back, and informed me that I must ride on the front with the driver, as it was against the rules for colored persons to ride inside.

I told him I would not ride on the front, and he said I should not ride at all. He then ejected me from the platform, and at the same time gave orders to the driver to go on. I have therefore been compelled to walk the distance in the mud and rain, and have also been delayed in my attendance upon the court.

I therefore most respectfully request that the offender be arrested and brought to punishment.

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

A. T. Augusta, M.D.,
Surgeon Seventh U. S. Colored Troops.

Capt. C. W. Clippington, Judge-Advocate.

This case has created quite a stir in military circles, and the Military Governor of the city came very near interfering, but it was thought best to leave the subject with Congress. *The National Republican* of this city takes ground upon the subject that is right and proper. Speaking of some of the outrages that have been practiced upon colored people here, it says:

"The first thing Congress should do, is, to purify itself by sending back to the various railroad corporations the 'dead-head' passes they hold, not only upon horse railroads in this District, but also passes upon steam lines between Washington and the North and West, thus relieving themselves of all obligations to these corporations, and removing all ground for suspicion of corrupt legislation on the subject of military and postal routes to the North.

"Second. The government, endorsed by the great acclaim of the loyal people, has decided that the black man is not only free, but is entitled to wear, and shall wear, the Federal uniform. Now let it promptly and emphatically declare that that uniform, by whomsoever worn, *must and shall be respected*, at all times and in all places, unless the wearer disgraces it by drunkenness or other crimes, which conduct is sufficiently provided for in the army regulations.

"Third. Abolish the slavery relic of exclusive cars 'for colored persons.' It is a humbug. White men invade them and insult the black occupants."

There is another paragraph in the article which is the best of all, and it is as follows:

"Sixth. Let Congress provide that all persons who dislike to ride by the side of an honest, tidy man or woman because the Almighty God made them black, shall be allowed to ride on the front platform, with the driver, if he pays as much as the black man or woman, or go on foot."

That is precisely what is needed. If Senator Hendricks does not wish to ride in a car where colored people are admitted, *let him go upon the platform with the conductor!* That is precisely what was done with colored people till three or four months ago, and now let the colorphobists take some of their own medicine.

The friends of Gen. Fremont, Gen. Butler, and Secretary Chase are quite busy in advocating their claims for the Presidency. The radical Germans seem to be determined that in no contingency will they support Mr. Lincoln, and in some of the States the German vote will be needed to sustain the Republican or Union nominee. This is a very important consideration, and it may be necessary to take up a man who can get these votes of the Germans. It is said that either Fremont, Butler, or Chase will be acceptable to this class of voters.

One fact should be remembered when the people are looking to see whom they can trust for another four years in the White House. It is a safe method to look back four years and see who has stood firm when there was great temptation to fall away from the faith. Mr. Chase has stood firmly by anti-slavery principles since he entered the Cabinet. He has never *needed persuasion* to bring him to acknowledge the justice of the claims of the black man. He was in favor of military emancipation when Fremont set a slave free in Missouri at the beginning of the war. For months after that he labored, in the Cabinet and out of it, to induce the Administration to declare military emancipation. It is not just for anti-slavery people to place him upon the level of Montgomery Blair, or anyone else connected with the government who was *driven* by the sentiment of the nation to emancipation. Even if the politicians forget this great distinction, anti-slavery men should not.

There is another point which should not be overlooked. This Administration has not yet been *tempted* by the Slave Power. It has been threatened and defied. When the leaders in the rebellion are convinced that it is impossible for them to succeed, then the hour of temptation for this government will have arrived, for then, these rebel chiefs will propose to abandon the rebellion and the right of secession *if* this government will give them slavery as an institution of the South. What would Mr. Lincoln say to such a proposition? What, Mr. Lincoln? Avon.

Proceedings of Congress.

In the Senate, on the 10th, Mr. Trumbull, from the Judiciary Committee, reported the following joint resolution as a substitute for the one lately introduced by Mr. Henderson of Mo., on the same subject:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the said Constitution, namely:

Article 13, section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this act by appropriate legislation.

Mr. Trumbull, from the same Committee, reported adversely to the resolutions of Mr. Sumner, printed by us last week, deeming the above sufficient for the object had in view. On the same day, Mr. Clark of N. H. introduced a bill ratifying and reaffirming the President's proclamation of January 1, 1863, and giving it the force of a statute. Referred to the Committee on Slavery and Freedmen. On motion of Mr. Sumner a resolution was adopted, 31 to 10, directing the Committee on the District of Columbia to inquire into the expediency of a law granting equality of privileges to colored people on the railroads of the District. Mr. Sumner thought Congress had better break up all railroads if we could not have them without such outrages as some that had lately been perpetrated, which did more to injure our cause abroad and at home than a defeat in battle. On the 11th, Mr. Collamer of Vt. from the Committee on Post-offices and Railroads, reported back the bill to remove the disqualification on account of color in carrying the mails, with an amendment, declaring there shall be no exclusion of any witnesses in the courts of the United States, on account of color. On Saturday, the Senate, after a great deal of discussion, decided that colored soldiers should *not* be paid in full for past services, though it provided for their equal payment with white troops hereafter. A proviso offered by Mr. Sumner that such troops as were actually enlisted with promise of full pay should receive it, was rejected by yeas 16, nays 21. In other words, the Senate has voted that in such a case as that of the 1st South Carolina Colored Volunteers, who were enlisted under the written assurance of Gen. Saxton—authorized by the Secretary of War, and subsequently admitted by the Solicitor of the War Department to have constituted an explicit contract for the payment of $13 a month and allowances—that even in this case the faith of the government is not to be kept. The argument, says *The Tribune*, which prevails with the Senate is simply that it costs too much to be honest. Mr. Johnson of Md., alluding to the manly refusal of the Massachusetts 54th and 55th regiments to receive the pay tendered them by the State, uttered the base sneer that "they were colored gentlemen of extraordinary sensibilities." On Tuesday Mr. Lane of Kansas spoke in favor of setting apart a portion of Texas for the use of persons of African descent—"mumbling over," in the words of *The Tribune*, "the old talk which twenty years ago some men of intelligence really believed in. To-day it can get no attention either from the Senate or from the country. Wasted by three years of war, the last thing we shall do will be to export the labor which is to restore our prosperity." Garret Davis of Ky., by a long amendment to the bill fixing the pay of soldiers, proposed to disband and disarm all colored troops, and if such colored men are employed it shall be as laborers and teamsters, and that the loyal owners of slaves employed in these capacities shall be paid a just compensation, and that, when a slave is lost in the service, his master shall receive full value for him. He made a long speech (still unfinished) in support of this ridiculous proposition, in the course of which he said: "Negroes never should have been enrolled. It was a great and fatal mistake, and the best thing we could do was to retrace our steps in this respect, as the rebellion had been strengthened to an incalculable degree by the employment of negro troops."

In the House, on the 10th, Mr. Eliot of Mass., from the Select Committee on the subject, reported a substitute for the bill to establish a Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs. He urged its adoption in a brief speech. On the 12th, the House passed the Enrollment bill, yeas 93, nays 60. It contains the following provision, adopted by a vote of 84 to 67:

"All able-bodied male persons of African descent, between the ages of 20 and 45 years, whether citizens or not, resident in the United States, shall be enrolled according to the provisions of the act to which this is a supplement, and form part of the national forces; and when a slave of a loyal citizen shall be drafted and mustered into the service of the United States, his master shall have a certificate thereof. The bounty of one hundred dollars, now payable by law for each drafted man, shall be paid to the person to whom such drafted person owes service or labor at the time of his muster into the service of the United States, on freeing the person. The Secretary of war shall appoint a commission in each of the slave States represented in Congress, charged to award a just compensation, not exceeding three hundred dollars, to each loyal person to whom the colored volunteer may owe service, who may volunteer into the service of the United States, payable out of the commutation money, upon the master freeing the slave."

On Monday, the House, on motion of Mr. Arnold of Ill., by a vote of yeas 78, nays 62, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States should be so amended as to abolish Slavery in the United States wherever it now exists, and to prohibit its extension in every part thereof forever.

On Tuesday, the House, by a vote of 77 to 73, agreed to the Sen

THE THIRTIETH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

At the close of a thirty years' moral warfare upon the gigantic wickedness which but one known word sums up and describes—SLAVERY—it might well be supposed that they who had long been associated together, to contribute what aid they might to the furtherance of the anti-slavery cause, would have much to say of the past, its lessons, its warnings, its ineffaceable records of our country's shame, and its abounding proofs of the almighty power of truth and right in a contest with the strongest and most gainful iniquity. The topics press upon us. We might properly speak of the nature of the work undertaken by the American Abolitionists of thirty years ago—a work whose extent and magnitude were very imperfectly comprehended even by the wisest of their number; we might trace the outline of the history of that work, and see how by slow degrees were gathered the authentic facts and evidence necessary to demonstrate to a reluctant, an indifferent, a *corrupted* people, the unmeasured atrocity, the fearful wickedness before Heaven, of that social and political system which they had pledged themselves to uphold; we might show how, by their Constitution, by their laws, by their party and sectional divisions, by their desire of gain, by their social influence, and still more and worse by their *religion*, the whole American people supported directly and indirectly, ignorantly on the part of some, deliberately and intentionally on the part of many, that system of crimes and horrors, whose form indeed was in but one section of the country, but whose spirit and essential life were in all parts of it; we might trace the seemingly slow and wearisome progress of the truth upon the nation's mind and heart, and yet in the retrospect should feel ourselves constrained to exclaim, with awe and fervent gratitude, "What wonders hath God wrought!" we might point out how, under the potent tests of light and free discussion, so fearlessly applied by the anti-slavery press and lecture-hall, slavery was compelled itself to develop its true character and designs before the world, and to furnish the ultimate and unanswerable proof of its own unparalleled villany; we might portray, yet how feebly and inadequately, the desperate resistance which the nation long made to the influences of truth and to the appeals made to its own history and solemn pledges before the world, and might show how heavily and cruelly it visited scorn, abuse, false accusation, and personal violence upon those, who were not less its own most faithful friends than they were the defenders and friends of the helpless and oppressed people in it.

But we feel little inclination, now, to enlarge upon any of these subjects, the perfect history of which will, nevertheless, one day be written. And now, led and upheld by an unerring and infinite Power, we find ourselves brought to the end of this thirty years' contest, during which every element of justice, conscience, and moral power left alive in the land has been summoned to the assault upon the stronghold of slavery, and we see, with a joy and thanksgiving which no words can express, its battlements and its towers, both in the South and North, tottering and falling to the ground. But while this sight fills us with joy and with hope, it should also, we think, mightily encourage and inspire us to persevere in the line of action which has proved so effective in the past, and should, as we believe it will, renew the purpose of every Abolitionist in the land to relax no effort, leave no weapon unused, in the future, by which the great crowning triumph and glory, the complete end and extinction of slavery may be effected.

Our confidence in this future action of the Abolitionists was strengthened by the Anniversary meeting held in Music Hall, on the evening of Jan. 27th, of which it has become our duty to make report. It was, we think, in every respect, a great and significant gathering. The capacious hall was thronged with sympathizing friends, who had come up, from places remote and near, as to a religious feast-day of the most joyous yet sacred nature. We doubt if an assemblage of deeper moral culture or greater moral power could be gathered anywhere in the land. Some were there who had been among the very first to put their hands to the anti-slavery work, and many more who in successive years had been led to join this holy warfare and rejoiced to be baptized with its baptism. The company remained together for three hours, and gave every proof of highly enjoying the social intercourse. For a short time a chairman was appointed, EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., and addresses were made by THEODORE TILTON, of New York, and WENDELL PHILLIPS. The little girl, VIRGINIA LAWRENCE, once a slave, but rescued from that condition by a New York lady, acting as a nurse in one of the United States hospitals, and subsequently baptized in public by Rev. H. W. Beecher, was, by special request of many present, led to the front of the platform, and her story briefly told, as evidence of the kind of "property" which Southern chivalry and piety (!) writes down in its inventories and ledgers. The most thoroughly informed Abolitionist could not look upon that fair young child, and remember her doom in slavery, without a shudder, and a new sense of the worse than barbarous or savage nature of slaveholding. Then there was excellent and appropriate instrumental music, and a few familiar anti-slavery choruses were sung. The spirit of the meeting was decidedly one of congratulation—not because the work is done, but because it has so wonderfully advanced during the year. On either side of the hall were the tables of the ladies of the anti-slavery Committee, at which donations were received. Over them hung the banners, with their memorable mottoes and watchwords, which have waved over so many anti-slavery occasions in both quiet and stormy times, and become endeared by memories of many a well-fought field. The whole amount of the subscriptions at, and on account of, this occasion is not less than FOUR THOUSAND, FIVE HUNDRED dollars.

This is a considerable increase upon last year's subscription, then reported the largest ever obtained, upon one of these anniversaries, from strictly home sources. It will be a very substantial aid to the American Anti-Slavery Society in the work yet before it, and it affords us sincere pleasure to report to our friends everywhere this favorable result. We rejoice in it, and even more in the proof it affords that the American Abolitionists are determined not to cease from their work till it be accomplished, nor give ear to any suggestions, however plausible, of leaving it to politicians, to circumstances, or to military necessity. Ready and disposed to give to these the fair amount of weight and credit to which they are entitled, they will yet keep a single eye to their own work, entrust it to no doubtful hands, and keep their armor on until slavery is dead, and buried out of sight.

We would express in a few words our sincere sorrow at the absence of Mrs. HELEN E. GARRISON from her accustomed place, and still more for its cause, her painful and serious illness. We are sure that her own disappointment was great, and we must needs greatly miss one, whose every possible effort has so long, so cheerfully, so instinctively been given for the good work of the slave's deliverance—nay, for the solace and relief of so many a needy one besides. May strength and health be given to her again, and the light of her spirit be again diffused widely abroad.

We should gladly publish every letter which came to us in response to our call and invitation to attend the Anniversary meeting. But as the limits of this report compel us to a selection from them, we aim to let every phase and aspect of the cause be represented, and every section of our country, so far as heard from, speak for itself.

We welcome, as we are sure our readers will, the words of cheer and encouragement which follow, from one whose devotion to our cause was early given, has never cooled or tired, and is still as heartfelt and hopeful as at first:

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Jan. 26, 1864.

DEAR FRIENDS: I am very sorry that I cannot attend your Subscription Anniversary to-morrow. It is, in in my feelings to day, a serious objection to Syracuse that it is so far from Boston. But I rejoice in the thought that I am cooperating with you, though I may not enjoy your personal presence. I have ever found, and still find enough to do here in the same great cause, in which you and your associates have done such good service. Allow me once more to express my gratitude to you, and say again what I have often said, that had it not been for the faithful women, who have helped us from the beginning, we could not have accomplished the half of what we have done towards the abolition of American slavery. Let me congratulate you, that so many of you will probably live to see the end of the work, to which we together put our hands more than thirty years ago. But, dear friends, the end is not yet. We must labor somewhat longer, and be very vigilant, lest the spirit of compromise, which is the wily servant of the devil, should yet beguile us of perfect success.

When, last Fall, I heard it suggested by some that we might safely disband our Anti-Slavery organizations, I hastily wrote to Oliver Johnson begging him to remonstrate against such imprudence, and adding that I would give twenty dollars to maintain our instrumentalities, and more if needed.

I now renew my subscription of that sum, wishing that I could make it ten times larger.

With my best regards to each of your associates I remain truly, affectionately yours,

SAMUEL J. MAY.

Mrs. Mary May, Mrs. Louisa Loring, and others.

Hon. EDGAR KETCHUM, whose anti-slavery convictions were frankly avowed and manfully defended long before it was popular to hold them, sends us the following welcome note:

NEW YORK, Jan. 20th, 1864.

DEAR FRIENDS: The Providence of God, displayed in the events of the year, has brightened the hope of patriots, while rebels are confused and despairing.

Freedom spreads, and slavery not only falls, but is cast off by the people of the South. Your fidelity and courage are receiving their reward.

Your 30th Anniversary must be a joyful one, and such as I, who cannot attend it, may at least have the pleasure of sending in their aid toward the great work remaining to be done. Receive my offering enclosed, and my benediction with it. May you be abundantly prospered, and the slave be everywhere made free.

With great respect, your fellow-citizen and friend,

EDGAR KETCHUM.

The following extracts from letters of our venerable and generous friend in Montreal, Judge GALE, will deepen in all our hearts the respect and gratitude to which he is so well entitled from all American Abolitionists:

"The Anti-Slavery Society ought not to relax its efforts. The desire to have that haughty slave oligarchy rendered powerless, must increase all the world over. Their attempts at assassination in Congress and elsewhere, show that man vainly hopes for good in any country where the criminal laws are unequal upon the different classes of the population. That alone can prevent *capital* from trampling *labor* under its feet.

"All is the gift of Industry. Whatever exalts, embellishes, and renders life delightful, and where impartial laws impartially protect industry, there only can security be obtained.

"Blessed be God who has in so remarkable a manner hitherto made the wrath of man to praise him.

"Short is the time I now have here, but I thank Heaven that I have some visions of my childhood which seem in a fair way of being accomplished—the freedom of the Southern States."

"We are now near the commencement of the 4th year of the atrocious civil war which has desolated a portion of the United States, and which seems to await for its termination the death of a few leaders only, among the secessionists. The calls of humanity are imperative upon the friends of the slave not to relax in their efforts to assist them at this juncture. I therefore enclose a draft of the Bank of Montreal upon the Merchants' Bank of Boston for five hundred dollars, which I have indorsed in your favor. For this and other aids, I am, with great truth, your sincere and faithful friend, SAM'L GALE.

Mrs. L. MARIA CHILD."

A venerable and well-known gentleman in our own neighborhood writes thus cordially and emphatically in regard to that great Wrong and Crime, which long since made the American Anti-Slavery Society a necessity to ourselves, to our Country, and to our Age:

WATERTOWN, Jan. 19, 1864.

MISS ABBY FRANCIS—*My Dear Friend:* I have been gratified and honored by the receipt of a circular signed by some thirty or forty ladies—constituting a fair representation of the virtue, intelligence, and patriotism of Boston and vicinity—inviting me to an anniversary meeting of the "American Anti-Slavery Society," at the Music Hall in Boston on Wednesday evening, Jan. 27th.

I have been an anti-slavery boy and man ever since I was eleven years old—*at which period* my father was a Delegate from Worcester to the Convention for the adoption of the Constitution of the United States—and voted against it by reason of the fatal provisions it contained for the existence or establishment of slavery in our country—the source of all our political woes.

I am too old—being in my 86th year—to attend your meeting; but I thank God I have lived to see the slaveholders and tyrants themselves, with intents, motives, and objects far otherwise and most wicked—yet, under the guidance of an all-wise and holy Providence, in cooperation with the efforts of the men and women of the free States—conducting the nation to the prostration and probable utter extinction of the enormous sin of slavery and the restoration of our glorious Union.

Should such be the happy result, you, my friend, will probably live to behold our dear country, within a quarter of a century, become the first political power and the greatest and happiest nation and people on earth.

Will you have the goodness to take charge of the inclosed contribution to the objects of your Society?

Cherishing grateful sentiments for the ladies of your Society, believe me very sincerely and truly, your friend and servant, TYLER BIGELOW.

The following response to our invitation from Maj.-Gen. BUTLER was read by Mr. Phillips to the great audience assembled in Music Hall on the evening of the Anniversary, and called forth the warmest applause. We surely feel that much honor is due to one who, having changed his opinion respecting slavery and its relations to our Government and country, never hesitates to avow his convictions with a most manly frankness, nor to make his life and actions thoroughly accord with them:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, FORT MONROE, Jan. 22, 1864.

MADAM: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your polite invitation for Mrs. Butler and myself to attend your anniversary festivities of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and greatly regret that for reasons that must be obvious we cannot be present.

Wishing you every success and prosperity in your worthy and noble enterprise, I am, very truly, yours,

BENJ. F. BUTLER, Maj.-Gen. U. S. Vols.

Mrs. MARY MAY, and others.

From the more distant coast of South Carolina, upon which men, who, as slaves, so lately cowered under the lash and revolver of brutal drivers, now stand erect in the dignity and self-respect of soldiers in the Army of the United States, comes the following letter of a faithful New Hampshire Abolitionist, which sufficiently speaks for itself:

CAMP OF 3D REGT. S. C. INFANTRY, HILTON HEAD, S. C., Jan. 12th, 1864.

FRIEND GARRISON: There is but one place that can be pleasanter to me than Music Hall, on the occasion of the approaching annual festival: that place is the camp of a regiment of freed slaves in South Carolina. With such a regiment, I have the honor to be connected. Every foot of such a camp ground is as radical a platform as even Boston Abolitionists can erect in Music Hall. A battalion of these earnest and intensely loyal men, standing in line of battle, going through the manual of arms, is, next to a battle itself, the most thrilling of speeches.

Even the silvery tones of Wendell Phillips are not more eloquent than the glistening bayonets of black men, with which they are writing, in letters of rebel blood, their title-deed to freedom. But I do not forget that these things are the thought and speech of anti-slavery men, crystalized into solid, substantial action.

Your earnest words, during the last third of a century, have stirred the heart of the nation, and made possible the work, and the methods of performing it, to-day. Let the agitation be continued, then, until the people, through their representatives in Congress, shall sign the death-warrant of slavery; its old victims, now in arms, will be happy to be its executioners.

Yours for the Right,

J. M. HAWKS, Surgeon 3d Regt. S. C. Inf.

The following from Rev. NATHANIEL HALL, though brief, will express much to those who know him as we do:

DORCHESTER, Jan. 27th.

MY DEAR MR. MAY: I greatly regret that I am prevented by illness from being present at the always so pleasant Anniversary this evening. I wish to send through you my mite in contribution to the cause. Please hand it to either one of the ladies you please.

How gloriously full of hope the times are, and how devoutly grateful should we be for what our eyes are permitted to see, and our ears to hear of the near advent of Universal Emancipation in our beloved land! God be praised! Yours affectionately,

NATHANIEL HALL.

Another Christian minister, with whom also it has been an essential part of religion to remember the despised and outraged slave, and to plead the cause of the needy and the oppressed against his proud and heartless oppressor, writes to us as follows:

JAN. 28, 1864.

DEAR FRIENDS: * * * You have my full sympathy in the feeling that this hour lays on the friends of liberty a burden of duty and responsibility which they may not put off. When their work is done they may lay aside their tools—not earlier. Their work cannot be said to be done so long as it is in the power of any Judas of Pro-Slavery to betray the Messiah of Freedom who has come to regenerate the nation and bless the world. They may long to have it done, less for their own sake—knowing how great a gift from God it has been to them—than for that of the down-trodden and oppressed—though even into their souls slavery has not thrust its direst curse—and that of the oppressor, whom deliverance from his sin will disenthral indeed. They may long for it for the sake of country and mankind. They may with prophetic eye see so clearly the near completion as to be satisfied that it cannot be stayed—but even then is there not something yet to do in preparing the way of the Lord and making His paths straight? We know how subtle is the foe and with what deadliness he can strike. Thank God we live to see how much mightier than he is the straightforward spirit of the Lord. If that Spirit speaks the blessed word *victory*, it also bids us labor and watch unto the very end.

Enclosed I send you thirty dollars. I wish it were so many times that sum that it would suffice to sow the whole land with anti-slavery. But if we be faithful, God will surely do that, and in Him we can securely trust. His strength will be made perfect in our weakness, if that weakness be but loyal to Him and His.

I am yours, dear friends, for truth and freedom,

FREDERICK FROTHINGHAM.

We feel sure that no contribution can bring with it more truly the blessing of God than that which accompanied the following letter from one of the earliest Abolitionists among the colored people of Boston:

BRIGHTON, Jan. 26th, 1864.

MRS. MARY MAY—*Very Dear Friend:* The invitation from you and the other esteemed friends of freedom to me and my family to be present at the annual gathering of the old, faithful and long-tried friends of the slave, is hereby acknowledged and highly appreciated. Ill health will not permit me to participate with you on this most highly interesting occasion. But my heart and soul are with you, with fervent prayers; and may God shower upon you success and blessings in abundance.

Please accept my mite of one dollar here enclosed to aid the great cause. You and the other ladies with you will please accept the assurance of my personal esteem and best wishes, with which I subscribe,

Yours for liberty, JOHN T. HILTON.

We give an extract from the letter of a lady in Ohio, a faithful and steadfast friend to the anti-slavery cause:

DEAR FRIEND: Your invitation to the Anniversary on the 27th instant is received, which it would give me great pleasure to accept. Indeed I know of no gathering this side of the Celestial City, where the freed spirits of the tried and true of all ages meet to rejoice and hold a jubilee for deliverance from earth's woes and wrongs, that I would more gladly join than this that you now contemplate. That you have occasion for rejoicing for what has been accomplished by the moral force of Truth, and for devout thanksgiving that the wrath and wickedness of evil-doers has been overruled to work out in some measure the deliverance of the oppressed, there can be no doubt. But as the victory is not yet complete, this meeting is not exclusively for rejoicings and congratulations. * * * Were every slave now emancipated, still we should owe them a great debt; we have robbed them, and as a nation are slow to come to repentance and to do works meet therefor.

Until this consummation, may you never tire nor cease your labors; and in achieving this, you raise to a higher level those not contemplated in the commencement of your efforts, your own sex.

To the Ladies of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

And from a lady in Connecticut, whose years instruct us, and whose cheerful humanity should incite us all to better labors, we have the following:

"Please find enclosed twenty dollars ($20), which I send to the National Anti Slavery Subscription Anniversary at Boston.

"I wish to send more, I *owe* so much. I am seventy five years old, and feel it such a privilege to have worked a few years for the down-trodden poor of our land; my own heart has been made better, for the work is ennobling."

One of our number was favored with a letter from a respected merchant of this city, from which we take the following extract:

I now enclose to you, for the American Anti-Slavery Society, my small mite, which I wish I could afford to make a thousand times greater, in aid of a cause so religious, patriotic and humane. *Religious*, because God must approve; *patriotic*, because it strikes at the root of a cruel despotism which has been long sapping the life of our nation; *humane*, because it gives to an imprisoned race its right to freedom and compensation for its labor. Let us give God the glory for this great work so wonderfully progressing, and all acknowledge His kind providence by increased faith and more zealous service.

I am, with much respect, your friend and obedient servant, DANIEL B. STEDMAN.

Miss CAROLINE C. TIMYER.

One question cannot but recur with a constant and an anxious interest for all our readers, as well as for our ourselves: Will this *thirtieth* annual anti-slavery occasion be the last? Or will another, and perhaps many more, equal to it and greater, in behalf of our country's Freedom and true honor, be necessary? We ask it, as doubtless others do, not because we grow weary of our work, but because we see it written with God's own hand on every page of our daily history, "Now is the accepted time"; because His own Spirit is continually making intercession, with unutterable longings and entreaty, that our country will not turn a deaf ear to that voice, and suffer this golden hour to pass away unused, to our eternal dishonor and infamy before the bar both of Human and Divine Justice. We are unwilling to believe that our government and country can be so lost to shame, or so blind to its own honor and interest, or so indifferent to this great opportunity of justice, as to be wanting now. We desire that our associated anti slavery work may very soon cease, because we desire, with an earnestness that no words can tell, that our nation may fear God and do righteousness. When it honestly accepts the vital truths of the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, admits the "inalienable rights" of "all men" to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and by Constitution and Statute-law *secures* the possession and enjoyment of these "inalienable rights" to all, *then* may every Anti-Slavery Society in the land be dissolved, and every anti-slavery journal and agency be discontinued, and then they will be. And this may all be done in this year of grace 1864, not only as well as to take ten or twenty years longer, but far better, far easier, surer, more peacefully, more satisfactorily to all concerned. The nation now HAS THE RIGHT, by the laws of war, by the great law of self-preservation, and in accordance with the *spirit* of the Constitution, to remove forever this great crime of slavery, now proved by its own acts and admissions to be as deadly an enemy to the whole nation, as it ever has been a cruel tyrant to the poorest and least of its unhappy victims; and it is bound, by every consideration of Law, Justice, Expediency and Humanity, to *exercise* this right. Let President Lincoln's great Proclamation of Freedom to all slaves in rebeldom be ratified by Congress, if need be, though we do not ourselves see the necessity. Let Congress extend the principle of that proclamation to every slave in the land, providing a fair compensation in every case wherein slaves are taken from persons of proved loyalty. No true friend of the Union in the South can object to that, and from all others the mask of complicity with the rebellion should be stripped away, and summary justice enacted between them and their slaves. And then let Congress take the prescribed steps to close up and seal the door forever against any possibility of slavery's return, by a Constitutional Prohibition. We believe that the *people*, of all sections and of every party, who are loyal and true, are now essentially agreed upon the Right, the Policy and the Necessity of this action. For our country's honor and peace, let it be done! We work on, that we may not fail of doing our part to this great end.

It only now remains for us to acknowledge the several contributions of our friends to the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and to thank them all and every one in the name of our good cause, for the promptness, the heartiness, and the liberality of their cooperation.

FOR THE COMMITTEE OF ANTI-SLAVERY LADIES.

Boston, February 13, 1864.

SUBSCRIPTION LIST

Of the Thirtieth National Anti Slavery Subscription Anniversary, January 27, 1864.

Mrs. Mary May,	$100 00
Mrs. Ellis Gray Loring,	25 00
Mrs. Ann T. G. Phillips,	100 00
Mrs. Sarah Shaw Russell,	100 00
Mrs. Anna Shaw Greene,	200 00
Miss Henrietta Sargent,	2 00
Mrs. Helen Eliza Garrison,	10 00
Mrs. Mary E. Stearns,	25 00
Mrs. Ann Rebecca Bramhall,	20 00
Mrs. Evelina A Smith,	3 00
Miss Mary Willey,	2 00
Miss Caroline C. Thayer,	3 00
Mrs. Eliza Apthorp,	5 00
Miss Georgina Otis,	10 00
Mrs. Sarah J. Nowell,	5 00
Mrs. Catharine E. Farnum,	5 00
Miss Sarah H. Cowing,	2 00
David and L. Maria Child,	25 00
Mr. and Mrs. Otto Dresel,	10 00
Miss Hannah Robie,	25 00
Samuel and Sarah R. May,	30 00
Mrs. Lucinda Smith Otis, Boston,	20 00
John G. Whittier,	2 00
Theodore D. Weld,	5 00
Angelina G. Weld,	5 00
Henry C. Wright,	2 00
Anne Warren Weston, Weymouth,	10 00
Frances Mary Robbins, Boston,	5 00
Edmund Jackson, Esq., "	4 00
Nathaniel Borerley, Nantucket,	30 00
Rev. F. Frothingham, Montreal,	30 00
Edmund Quincy, Esq., Dedham,	25 00
William I. Bowditch, Esq., Brookline,	50 00
Mrs. and Mrs. Samuel E. Sewall,	20 00
Thomas R. Sewall, Esq.,	20 00
Miss Sewell,	10 00
John H. Stephenson Esq.,	10 00
Samuel May, Esq.,	100 00
Wendell Phillips,	100 00
Tyler Bigelow, Esq.,	20 00
Hon. John G. Palfrey,	5 00
Hon. Samuel Gale, Montreal, Canada,	500 00
E. D. and Anna T. Draper, Hopedale,	500 00
Rev. Samuel J. May, Syracuse,	20 00
Hon. Edgar Ketchum, New York,	25 00
Wm. Henry Burr, Esq., "	10 00
David and Charlotte A. Joy, Glen Haven, N. Y.,	25 00
Mary P. Payson, Peterboro. N. H.,	10 00
W. W. Churchill, Esq., Boston,	10 00
Henry G. Denny, Esq., "	10 00
Daniel B. Stedman, Esq., "	5 00
Amos Cummings, Esq., "	10 00
Wm. Lloyd Garrison, "	10 00
Rev. R. C. Waterston, "	5 00
Mrs. Waterston, "	5 00
Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska, "	3 00
Rev. Alfred P. Putnam, Roxbury,	5 00
Rev. Nathaniel Hall, Dorchester,	5 00
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George N. Richards, Westboro,	
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James N. Buffum, Lynn,	
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Alexander Foster,	
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C. F. Hudson,	
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Mary A. Hale,	
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Mehitable Haskell, Gloucester,	
Mrs. Mary Clapp, Dorchester,	
Steph. & Martha Clapp, "	
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C. F. S.,	
F. A. Green,	
Miss Helen Porter, Medford,	
Perley King, South Danvers,	
Elwin Thompson, East Walpole,	
Mrs. Hall,	
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H. A. Potter,	
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Thomas B. Rice, "	2 00
James Tolman, Esq., "	2 00
T. W. Ripley, "	2 00
J. R. Andrews, "	1 00
J. Russell, "	1 00
John Oliver, "	1 00
E. R. Young, "	2 00
Miss C. F. Keyes, "	5 00
Mrs. C. T. Jackson, "	1 00
Henry C. Weston, "	25 00
E. Foster, "	1 00
Paul Gates, Esq., "	1 00
Hon. J. Waters, "	1 00
Isaac Osgood, Charlestown,	3 00
John T. Hilton, Brighton,	1 00
James Weston,	50
Martin Stetson, Hanover,	2 00
Lewis McLauthlin, Pembroke,	2 00
L. S. Richards, Quincy,	1 00
Mrs. Theo. Brown, Worcester,	2 00
D. F. and M. H. LeB. Goddard, Worcester,	3 00
Miss E. H. Day, Lewiston, Me.	5 00
Mr. and Mrs. Nathan, Richardson, Warren,	10 00
Charles Richardson,	5 00
George Miles, Westminster,	5 00
Daniel Low, Lunenburg	1 00
Allen A. Bent, South Gardner	5 00
Joel Smith, Leominster	5 00
Mrs. Lydia L. Walker, "	3 00
Mrs. Elizabeth Wilder, "	1 00
Frances H. Drake, "	50
Moses Sawin, Southboro'	1 00
Daniel S. Whitney, Southboro'	1 00
Samuel Barrett, Concord	10 00
Mrs. M. S. Bowker, Hopkinton	10 00
Louisa R. Beal, Hingham	2 00
Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Thaxter, Hingham	5 00
Miss Percy Scarborough, "	2 00
Sarah Fiske, "	3 00
Miss Thaxter, "	1 00
Miss Ellzabeth Cushing "	4 00
Otis G. Cheever, Wrentham	8 00
Joshua Coolidge, Watertown	10 00
Miss Sarah Whitney "	5 00
Maria S. Page, Danvers	1 00
Ambrose Allen, Marblehead	50
Lena E. Percy	50
Mrs. Wm. Symington Brown	2 00
A. B. Peck	1 00
N. L. Perkins,	1 00
Charles Fitz,	2 00
S. Evans, Jr.	1 00
C. Seaver, Jr.	5 00
Wm. O. Haskell, Chelsea	5 00
Mrs. Henry K. Thacher	5 00
Mrs B. Pitman, Somerville	10 00
J H Putnam, Brookline	5 00
M R	2 00
O M T	1 00
Mr and Mrs P W Morrill, Grantville	5 00
Sarah Southwick "	5 00
E G Lucas "	10 00
Jonathan Buffum, Lynn	5 00
James E Oliver "	5 00
J. B. Pierce "	5 00
William Basset, "	5 00
E B Perkins, Salem	3 00
Martha O Barrett, South Danvers	1 00
M Edmonia Lewis, Lowell	1 00
James S Draper, Wayland	2 00
Julia M Friend, Gloucester	3 00
Reuben Weston, Reading	5 00
Sarah Hayward, Salem	2 00
Josiah Hayward "	2 00
Lydia M Plumer, Newbury	5 00
S M Nowell, Cambridge	2 00
Elizabeth M Powell	3 00
M E Allen	2 00
Wm H Wardwell	1 00
Theo E Wardwell	1 00
Mrs E H Magill, Jamaica Plain	5 00
Mrs Caroline E Waite, Springfield	2 00
Dr Jefferson Church "	5 00
Mrs E A Church "	5 00
E and E H Richards, Weymouth	10 00
Mrs A Clapp "	3 00
Susan H Cowing "	2 00
W H and A B Humphrey	5 00
Marianne Paine	3 00
Mrs Wall	1 00
Mr T Wall	1 00
Mrs David Hunt	5 00
Mrs Charles E Hunt	1 00
Elbridge Sprague, Abington	3 00
Mrs Martha Smith, Plainfield Ct.	20 00
James A Austin, Esq., New Haven "	10 00
Lauren Wetmore, Esq., Wolcotville "	45 00
Mrs E P Philleo, Suffield "	2 00
Mrs J Mortimer Hall, Killingly "	5 00
Mr and Mrs J A Stetson, Brooklyn "	2 00
Mrs J B Whitcomb " "	5 00
Edwin Scarborough " "	2 00
Perrin Scarborough " "	2 00
Phillip Scarborough, " "	1 00
M. Pierce, Norwich " "	5 00
A friend in Vt.	50 00
Jesse Stedman, Springfield "	3 00
Mrs A R Reed, Montpelier "	5 00
J Hutchinson, Jr., West Randolph "	2 00
Enoch Hebard " "	2 00
Avery Fitts " "	1 00
Luther Melendy, Amherst N. H.	2 00
Benjamin Chase, Auburn "	1 00
B F Hutchinson, Milford "	2 00
Mr and Mrs Moses Sawyer, Weare "	5 00
P B Cogswell, Concord "	5 00
Climena F Philbrick, Seabrook "	3 00
Helen Philbrick " "	2 00
Parker Pillsbury, Concord "	5 00
N and A S White, Seabrook "	45 00
Anna F White " "	5 00
Mrs M P Osborn and daughters, Dover "	8 00
Mrs John Preston, North Ipswich "	5 00
Mrs Oliver Dennett, Portland Me.	5 00
C J Thomas " "	5 00
Rebekah N Buffum " "	5 00
Elizabeth B Chase, Valley Falls R. I.	5 00
Amon Parmenter, Newport "	5 00
Surgeon J M Hawks, 3d S. C. I, Hilton Head, S. C.	5 00
Sarah E Wall, Norfolk, Va.	10 00
Mrs Elizabeth Nickerson, Wilmington, Ohio	2 00
Mrs Clarissa G Olds, Johnstown "	2 00
John W Heins, Philadelphia	5 00
Mary Grew, "	5 00
Margaret J Burleigh, "	5 00
Alfred H Love "	2 00
Lydia White, "	5 00
B F Schieffelin Esq, New York	100 00
Oliver Johnson Esq, "	5 00
Christiana F Wallace "	5 00
Marcus Spring Esq "	25 00
Wm Gibbons Hopper "	50 00
David Baker, South Easton "	50 00
C B LeBaron Esq New York	5 00
Mrs Sarah D Fish, Rochester "	1 00
Catharine A F Stebbins " "	1 00
Mary B F Curtis " "	5 00
Mrs Mary Doty " "	1 00
Mrs Amy Post " "	3 00
Mrs Mary H

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

DISENCHANTED.

THE time has come, as I knew it must,
She said, when we should part,
But I ceased to love when I ceased to trust,
And you cannot break my heart.

Nay, I know not even if I am sad,
And it must be for the best,
Since you only take what I thought I had,
And leave to me the rest.

Not all the stars of my hope are set,
Though one is in eclipse;
And I know there is truth in the wide world yet,
If it be not on your lips.

And though I have loved you, who can tell
If you ever had been so dear
But that my heart was prodigal
Of its wealth, and you were near.

I brought, she said, each beautiful thing
From my love's great treasury;
And I thought in myself to make a king
With the robes of royalty.

But you lightly laid my honors down,
And you taught me thus to know,
Not every head can wear the crown
That the hands of love bestow.

So, she said, take all that you can from me,
And leave me as you will;
The dear romance, and the poesy,
Were mine, and I have them still.

And whenever my fancy has her way,
Yea, though it were even now.
She can make a god of common clay,
Or a man of such as thou!

PHŒBE CARY.

FAREWELL TO MR. GEORGE THOMPSON.

From The Manchester Examiner and Times of Jan. 22.

YESTERDAY, a *soiree* was held in the large room of the Manchester Town Hall, on the occasion of a farewell address being presented to Mr. George Thompson, the well-known advocate of free trade, reform, and negro emancipation, on his leaving England for the United States of America. After tea and coffee had been served, Mr. George Wilson took the chair. Amongst the company were Messrs. Earnest Jones, Councillers Thompson and Butterworth, John Noble, Dr. Watts, T. Roberts, T. H. Barker, J. Etscourt, J. R. Cooper, Robert Cooper, Captain Chester, a colored gentleman; Thos. Clegg, Rev. J. C. Street, M. Kyllman, J. C. Edwards, H. O. Greening, John Glazebrook, J. H. Raper, Dr. Pankhurst, W. Warburton, D. Macrae, and S. P. Robinson.

The CHAIRMAN, on rising to open the proceedings of the evening, was greeted with loud cheers. He said, for many years the opinion which he had entertained of the public services of Mr. Thompson had placed that gentleman in his (the Chairman's) estimation, in the large amount of services which he had contributed to the interests of humanity, in the very front rank of living men (applause). The connection of Mr. Thompson with the abolition of West India slavery was known to all (cheers). Sometimes we were apt to forget the labors of the men who long ago commenced the war against slavery, while we were in the enjoyment of the fruits of those labors in the present day. If it was true that we awarded praise to the man in any capacity in life who rescued a single lost individual, and placed him again in society, our thanks were due in a tenfold degree to that man who had enabled us by his abilities to clear away the foul reproach which rested upon England, and make her laws consistent with the highest laws of humanity and justice (cheers). He knew and heard Mr. Thompson when he delivered his first speech in the Friends' meeting-house, and afterwards he heard Mr. Thompson's speech in the Irwell street Chapel; and he believed that not one who heard him on either of these occasions, owing to the instruction he imparted, would now be found in any way favoring or conniving at slavery in the Southern States of America (applause). Then again, Mr. Thompson was connected with him (the Chairman) in the agitation for the repeal of the Corn laws (loud applause). In connection with these and other great and good causes, Mr. Thompson had passed his life. It had been his (the Chairman's) desire to see Mr. Thompson engaged again in another great movement in this country. When the present Parliament was elected, there was a great promise given which was yet unfulfilled (hear). But Mr. Thompson had made up his mind to go to America, where he would be received with cordial welcome by thousands. Mr. Thompson had made the homes of many people bright by his efforts; he hoped Mr. Thompson's future home would be a bright one, too; and that all the blessings which Providence might have in store for the man who deserved them, as he did, would be his present and final reward (cheers).

Mr. BARKER then read the following address to Mr. Thompson:

DEAR AND HONORED SIR: For ourselves, and on behalf of many thousands of your countrymen, who have long admired, esteemed and loved you (and who would have gladly joined in this tribute of personal regard had circumstances permitted), we most cordially and tenderly bid you FAREWELL!

For upwards of thirty years your name has been prominently and meritoriously associated with nearly every advanced movement for the welfare, elevation and enfranchisement of the human race. But preeminently, and with uniform consistency, have you labored and suffered in the glorious cause of HUMAN FREEDOM with a spirit of undaunted courage and undying devotion. In Great Britain, in India, in America, you have been "in labors more abundant"—your energies and sympathies consecrated to the service of all mankind, of whatever race, color, condition or creed.

Not only have you borne the heat and burden of the day, in sunshine and in storm, but never have you flinched in the utmost stress of conflict, in the darkest hour of danger, or in any emergency or crisis, however terrible to the less brave and less hopeful champions of freedom. Whoever the foe, whatever the difficulty, and however others may have faltered, compromised or retreated, *you* have always been the steadfast and trusty friend and defender of Liberty and Right. Your able pen, your eloquent tongue, your indomitable spirit, have always been at the service and call of the truest and wisest friends of Universal Emancipation.

We cannot rehearse the multifarious occasions on which, as a public man, you have stood forward the advocate and friend of those who were prostrated by ruthless oppression, crushed by unjust social burdens, or trampled upon by iniquitous legislation. But the record of those services is cherished in the memory and affection of millions of grateful hearts, and will be graven by the pen of historic truth on an enduring tablet of the nation's memorials of her good and gifted citizens, who have consecrated their lives, their talents, and their manly energies to the cause of Humanity and Progress.

Your character and services are not unknown to either the friends or the foes of liberty in the great Federal Republic of America, whither you go to take up your residence. With the name of that large-hearted and heroic-souled man, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, yours has long since become a cherished household word, in tens of thousands of the homes of the free citizens of that kindred and friendly nation.

On this occasion, you go to America under circumstances and prospects very different from those you had to encounter on your previous visits. Within the last three or four years, it may be said almost literally that a nation has been born again in the cause of Freedom.

That noble martyr of liberty—JOHN BROWN, the hero of Harper's Ferry—by his magnanimous devotion and death, sent a thrill of new life to the nation's heart of hearts. The moral electricity of that grand human soul not only galvanized the dead bones of social rottenness in the South, but awakened to new life, to new purpose, and to new hope, the drooping spirits of the North. Had it not been for John Brown's immolation on the altar of liberty and patriotism, HONEST ABRAHAM LINCOLN could not have been President of the Union, and thus be enabled to become the second deliverer of the nation. And had not Mr. Lincoln been elected, the cause of Negro Emancipation would have gone backward probably for half a century. It was the time and crisis of the nation's utmost social, political and moral need; and the Providence of God, blessing the efforts of good men, raised up a man who had a heart, a conscience, and a soul above the tricks of politicians and the subtleties of diplomacy.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, nearly eighty-three years since, gave the American nation the boon of Independence. In our day, ABRAHAM LINCOLN has conferred a more estimable blessing, by proclaiming the Federal Nation the home of impartial and universal freedom.

It is true that the great work of the present day is not fully and finally accomplished; but the foundation is laid, the noble edifice is rising in grandeur, and the glad day is near at hand, when the top-stones shall be placed on its pinnacles and domes, amid the jubilation, not only of four million of a redeemed race, but the plaudits of every free nation throughout the world.

Commending you to the care of an all-wise and ever watchful Providence, and to the fraternal sympathy of all good men, we again bid you an affectionate FAREWELL!

Mr. ERNEST JONES said the occasion was in some respects gratifying, and in others melancholy. It was gratifying to see the long tried and honored champion of political and commercial liberty going with good hope and heart to carry on his holy mission in another part of the world. It was melancholy and painful to learn that there was to be a long parting with their honored friend (cheers). His influence here would, however, not be terminated by his departure. The seeds he had sown would put forth fruit. If there was one one thing above all others which was the most holy, it was to do justice to the oppressed, and to advocate his cause under every disadvantage, difficulty, or danger. This Mr. Thompson had done, and he had done not only a service to the oppressed, but to humanity at large [cheers]. If the intellect of the negro race was not now so elevated as that of the whites, yet that race was part of humanity—humanity lying fallow, to bear glorious fruit of civilization and intelligence in the coming time [cheers]. It was for the Anglo-Saxon race, as the torch-bearers of the present, to brighten the pathway in the future [cheers]. Another consolation at parting was that Mr. Thompson went as an ambassador of peace to the other side of the Atlantic—not the ambassador of courts or cabinets, accredited by diplomatic parchment, but with the sign manual of the goodness and virtue of the people, seeking to form a treaty of mutual recognition and alliance with the people of another nation.

Mr. Councillor THOMPSON, in seconding the adoption of the address, said it was notorious that the old hunter liked to be in at the death [cheers]; therefore, they should not wonder over much at Mr. Thompson's desire to end his days in America. They would have their friend rejoicing in the glorious consummation of liberty one of these days; and when liberty was achieved in the United States, slavery was doomed the world over [cheers].

Mr. ESTCOURT, in supporting the motion, lamented that Mr. Thompson should have to go abroad to spend his declining years. Dr. Pankhurst said it was becoming that the recruit should salute the thirty years tried veteran [cheers]. When the end of the conflict was approaching, it might be believed that the event would be signalled by the greatest and proudest triumph over the worst and most malignant vices. It was felt that slavery had everywhere received its death-blow [hear]. Liberty had received another security for perpetual existence among mankind. And when the active scenes of to-day should have become a part of history, immortal honor would rest upon the heads of those who preferred to ease and comfort the integrity of their nation and the good of mankind [cheers]. In that day the guest of this evening would not be unremembered for his services [cheers]. When the masses of the people of the two nations had a fair knowledge of the circumstances of each other's position, and a fair understanding of each other's motives, war was an absolute impossibility between America and England [cheers]. If that were the case, whosoever, by information, argument, and advocacy, could dispel delusions, remove misconceptions, and bring in enlightenment and truth, might indeed be regarded as an ambassador from the court of peace [cheers].

The Rev. J. G. STREET said Mr. Thompson's name had been largely associated with the great question of the freedom of the black race—a race which had done so great a work for the world, and which the world seemed to have forgotten—a race which in past times stood foremost in civilization and in thought, and had left us legacies which we would not let perish [cheers]. In the tidal roll of great events this race of men seemed to have been thrown back for a while, and the strong men of muscle and of power had stood forward and tried to crush them. But in that black humanity was a sterling strength, God-given, out of which would come higher manifestations of true power than had yet been seen. And it was something to the honor of a man like Mr. Thompson to have detected this truth, and devoted his life to proclaim it and help its realization. Kindred to that great question, as all great questions were kindred, was that of equal liberty and rights among all peoples. And no voice in all this country, not even excepting one man, whose name he [Mr. Street] never pronounced but with profound reverence—the name of John Bright [great cheering]—no voice had been more eloquent than the voice of George Thompson in behalf of equal civil liberty among all classes [cheers].

Dr. J. WATTS spoke of his personal indebtedness to Mr. Thompson for his earnest teaching of the great truths that should guide public men and measures. There was a greater work before Mr. Thompson in America than any he had yet accomplished, for the clouds were breaking, the morning star was appearing, and the light of freedom was dawning in the Northern States. That great work would be to reconcile the white and black races, so that they could shake hands as brothers, and feel that they were in every sense equal [cheers]. And no man was more fit for this work than George Thompson, for he had been the friend of the negro from his youth, and yet was no partisan. Of Mr. Thompson it might be said that he never set his hand to a bad cause, and never turned his back upon a good one [hear]. It was a shame that such a man should have to leave his country [hear].

The motion having been put to the meeting, the address was adopted unanimously, and with great applause.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON on rising to reply, was greeted with much applause, the audience rising and prolonging their demonstration. He spoke with considerable emotion of his long and intimate friendship with thousands in this country. Admitting the defects of our Constitution and administration, he said: "England, with all thy faults, I love thee still." His conscience told him that he had never been false to his principles or to truth; neither had he ever bargained his services to any party or person [cheers]. It was no slight wrench to part from a loved land and a dear home, however humble. But his hands were clean, and this was a proud satisfaction. He was going to America to do something to keep the wolf from the door. He did not go a disappointed man, nor reflecting upon his country; but in order to obtain a wider sphere of usefulness. It was no slight affliction to leave old England and he should drag with him a lengthening chain wherever he travelled. He left behind him four children and a dozen grandchildren, all of whom he loved, and some of whom were now present [cheers]. He hoped his friends would exemplify the Christian virtue of remembering the widow and the fatherless. He left a country that he loved, for he had seen no better; and though he was going to the land of the Amazon and the Mississippi, he should remember with far greater affection our not very pellucid Irwell [hear and laughter]. He also left a sovereign whom he loved [hear]. The force that drew him to America was not the expectation of an ovation, but the desire to meet again and labor with the pioneers in the glorious cause of emancipation [cheers]. America had long been recreant to the great principle of her Declaration—that God had created men free and equal, and had endowed them with an alienable right to liberty—but the cause of human freedom was again paramount in that country. From his earliest youth his sympathies were strongly excited on behalf of the oppressed negro race. The feelings aroused by the poems of Cowper were deepened by the stories told him by his father of what he had seen when captain's clerk on board a slave ship trading between Africa and America. These feelings were increased still more by the speeches he had heard as a boy in Freemasons' Hall, London—the dulcet tones of Wilberforce and the magnificent oratory of the now deceased Henry Brougham [sensation]—for Henry Brougham was no more, he died ere he tarnished the brightness of that diadem with which he was beforetime decked [cheers]. Mr. Thompson gave a sketch of his early career as a public speaker in the anti-slavery cause, and described his first visit to Manchester nearly thirty years since. When he alighted from the coach at the Royal Hotel, he was met by many venerable Christian men, whose names were still cherished in Manchester, including the late Isaac Crewdson and his brother Joseph, Peter Clare, and many others. They went together to the Friends' meeting-house, where he delivered his first speech in Manchester. From that time his public life had been in the cause of human freedom. He was for freedom in everything, personal, religious, and political, restrained only by the laws of justice and of truth; and his labors had brought him a rich reward. In the course of those labors, he had learned the foul injustice that was done to the negro race, as injustice was done politically to the working classes of this country, and his sense of this injustice to the negro was heightened by discovering the virtues of which the negro race was redolent. They had a noble specimen of that race on the platform, and he represented four million and a quarter of the human race, dwelling upon the continent of America, who but yesterday were considered only fit to be personal chattels in the hands of their masters. How it intensified the evils of slavery to think that it condemned four million of the human race, having souls like ourselves, to the level of creeping things and four-footed beasts, that it, in a word, uncreated them, and called them "things," selling them on the auction-block like any description of merchandise [hear]. Mr. Thompson contrasted the present anti-slavery feeling in America with the detestation of the doctrine 30 years ago, when the Manchester Town Hall would have contained all the Abolitionists of Massachusetts. What a marvellous change had occurred! The whole public sentiment was revolutionized. At that time he was denounced as not worthy to live; now the Governor of the State [Mr. Andrew] was as ardent an Abolitionist as Wm. Lloyd Garrison himself, and presided over the meeting that denounced the murder of the martyr, John Brown [cheers]. Adverting to the question of reform in England, Mr. Thompson said he had no apprehension that it would be much longer delayed. He felt that the cause of reform was progressing and would progress, not only in England, but everywhere [cheers]. Mr. Thompson concluded by wishing his friends an affectionate farewell.

Mr. J. GLAZEBROOK and Mr. W. PATTEN then presented an address to Mr. Thompson, on behalf of the Union and Emancipation Society of Ashton-under-Lyne. The address noticed Mr. Thompson's unabated and zealous advocacy of the great principles of political and social reform; his labors to free commerce from its shackles, and secure a suitable administration for India; his eloquent addresses in Parliament and throughout the country on behalf of liberty, philanthropy, and the rights of labor; and above all, his efforts to annihilate the heinous and cruel practice of slavery. The address concluded with good wishes for his well-being in America—"the future refuge of the liberties of mankind." It was signed by the Mayor of Ashton, and many of the leading inhabitants.

Mr. THOMPSON, in reply, said he received with the deepest gratitude the address presented. He should carry away with him many vivid scenes he had witnessed in Ashton-under-Lyne, and the most vivid would be the last he attended at the Town Hall there.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE EARLY ROBINS.

BIRD of Spring-time! Why so early
Hast thou wandered from thy home,
Whilst the brown wood still doth echo
With the Winter's dolorous moan?

Bare and leafless are the branches,
Ice-bound every crystal rill,
And the fleecy cloak of Winter
Yet lies white upon the hill.

No soft breezes have been wandering
Through the wood with wooing sound,
And the wild flowers all are sleeping
'Neath the cold and frozen ground.

Yet I hear thee gaily chirping
In the gray dawn's early gloom,
And thy notes of gladness tell me
That thy harp is all in tune.

From its chorus no note of sadness
Darkness o'er the spirit flings,
And our tears of anguish cannot
Jar the music of its strings.

Gay and jaunty thou art looking,
Robin Red-breast, on the spray;—
But now take a friendly warning—
Haste from coming storms away.

Many a leaf, by Autumn painted
With the hectic flush of death,
Yet will fall to earth and perish
In the chill of Winter's breath,

Who like pilgrims now are waiting,
Fluttering 'tween the earth and sky,
Ripening in earth's storm and tempest,
Ere upon her breast they lie.

Fearful blasts will yet go sounding
Through the woods their wild alarms;
And the forest trees, imploring,
Raise to heaven their naked arms.

Wields the Ice-king yet his sceptre,
Rides he still upon the gale;
From the storm-clouds yet will clatter
'Gainst our pane the rattling hail.

Though the brow of Winter brightens
With a stray gleam, bright and warm,
'Tis but like the flash that cometh
With the gathering of the storm.

Be not by it lured, sweet robin;
Tarry not upon the tree;
Wait till blue-eyed violets beckon,
And white daisies nod to thee.

Wait till blossoms wild are throwing
Fragrance through each shady nook,
And the dancing leaves cast shadows
In the clear and laughing brook.

Wait till Winter's hushed to slumber
By Spring's gentle lullaby;
Then come with thy song of gladness,
Little minstrel of the sky.

Lafayette, Indiana. R. G. B.

THE GREAT RUSSIAN EMANCIPATION.

From The Independent.

AN English clergyman, Rev. J. Long, has spent five months in Russia for the special purpose of studying the effects of serf emancipation on the spot. He has had every facility given him by the authorities, and has also mingled freely with the enemies of the great reform. He also travelled extensively in the interior of the country, and resided for a time in a district 100 miles south of Moscow. We could not do justice to his report except by copying it entire, which our limits do not allow, and we must content ourselves with a meager abstract.

The emancipation is completely triumphant in every respect. All the forebodings of the reactionaries have been disappointed. There has been no bloodshed, no excess, no social disorder, no decline of industry. Twenty-three million of people have been raised at once from the degradation of chattelism to the dignity of freemen, by the fiat of one man, in the space of two years, in the face of a most formidable opposition of nearly the whole Russian nobility. The bitterest opponents now admit that, "as the operation had to be performed some time, it was well to do it at once." Intellectual and social energies which had been frozen up for centuries, are set free; the peasantry are a promising race of people, and they know how to appreciate the boon of liberty.

Among the first financial results is the general rise in the price of land all through Russia, at least a million of serfs having already purchased the land which they formerly cultivated for a master. The government systematically loans money for this object, and all the money which was formerly hidden in earthen pots is brought out and invested in land. Every peasant feels a new incentive to industry and economy, that he may be able to buy land. More houses are now built in a year than used to be built in half a dozen years. The new wants of the people give a surprising impulse to trade. The nobility, who used to spend their incomes in Paris or in Germany, are coming to live on their estates, and spend their lives in seeking to promote the improvement of the people. The appraised value of property in the kingdom is already enhanced almost beyond computation.

The educational and religious efforts are equally signal. Already eight thousand schools have sprung into existence among the peasants, by their own efforts, aided by friends, the government having no hand in it. Two years ago such a thing as a day school among the peasantry was hardly known. There is great anxiety to be able to read the laws, as well as to read the Scriptures. To meet a pressing demand, the Church authorities have published the Russian New Testament, at the low price of sixpence a copy—about 12 cents. Of course the priests must make themselves both intelligent and refined, if they wish to keep their places among an educated people.

The changes which have already been made in the municipal arrangements of the country are equally wonderful. Within the last two years the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg have for the first time had mayors elected by the citizens. In the peasant villages, the chief is elected by the people, and all measures are debated and settled in village meetings—those pestilent nurseries of discontent, the old tories called them—the training-schools of freedom, as every philosophical observer considered our American town-meetings. An honorary local magistracy has been created all over the empire, of men of character and standing, who can execute justice between man and man, repress crime, and protect the weak against the strong. Our author says:

"These municipal institutions are training-schools for the peasantry; they enable them to resist the oppression of the nobles and the government employees; they also break the force of that centralization which has been such a curse to Russia; and they are nuclei to protect the weak against the venal police of Russia; for, in the peasant's court, oral evidence, summary decision, and publicity form the rules of proceeding, while a simple and cheap code of the law is administered."

And, finally, the writer finds in all this the first installment of a fully-developed liberal constitution for Russia, which must follow as an inevitable consequence:

"Even the late Emperor Nicholas was convinced that emancipation was necessary, but he would not give it, knowing that it would involve reform in all other departments of the State; that the upheaving of the masses would affect every institution in Russia. As serf emancipation included municipal institutions for the peasantry, a constitution, therefore, for all Russia follows as a corollary; and I found, among all intelligent Russians, the full conviction that a constitution must naturally come in a few years; that as municipal constitutions grow out of emancipation, so provincial assemblies are the result of municipal freedom, and a constitution will be the fruit of provincial assemblies. These steps are now being taken."

The Emperor Nicholas was fully sensible of the importance of emancipation, but he said clearly that constitutional government must follow, and this he would not abide. Alexander II. has therefore acted with his eyes open, and is prepared to follow out his first step to all its legitimate results as fast as wisdom will allow.

Since the above was written, the Arabia mail steamer brings the *Official Journal* of St. Petersburg, containing an imperial ukase for the organization of the provincial and district representations of Russia, with the exception of the Western and Baltic Provinces, Archangel, Astrachan, and Bessarabia. This is the beginning of a constitutional monarchy in Russia, whose government will no longer have to be defined as a "despotism tempered by assassination." The introduction of a representative constitution will, of course, greatly contribute to the education of the whole people, and will thus have a marked influence upon the destiny of Europe.

We only add the remark, that even English grumblers will soon cease to be astonished at the sympathy existing between the imperial liberalism of the Eastern and the imperial Republic of the Western Hemisphere.

TONY JAMES'S SONG.

"Cotton shall be king more than ever."—Gen. Saxton.

OLE Tony James he buy a farm,
An' pay his fifty dollar;
Dat's mighty groun' for cotton dar,
Dat patch down in de hollar;
An' massa use to hab it plough
An' list up ebery Spring—
An' kase it bring him pocket full,
He call de cotton king.
Oh! well, de cotton king for troo—
But not for massa, neber;
Since Tony James is buy a farm,
He king now more dan eber.

An' Tony James has got a home,
A home for all his childin,
A place to keep de fowl an' pig,
An raise de little buildin';
He call de tater now him own,
De corn an' ebery ting;
An' den de cotton b'longs to him,
Dat massa say been king.
Oh! well, de cotton king, for troo—
But not for massa, neber;
Since Tony James is buy a farm,
He king now more dan eber.

An' Tony James he bress de Lord,
For all dis kind protection;
De nigger seen de trouble troo,
An' dis de resurrection;
He neber call his hand his own,
His soul been massa's ting,
But now de bery cotton's his
Dat massa say been king.
Oh! well, de cotton king, for troo—
But not for massa, neber!
Since Tony James is buy a farm,
He king now more dan eber.

Port Royal, Jan. 24th, 1864. SIMON PURE.
—*Free South.*

DR. HOWE'S REPORT ON THE COLORED REFUGEES IN CANADA.

DR. S. G. HOWE, of Boston, has published a report on the condition of the fugitive slaves in Canada West, giving the results of a series of investigations undertaken at the request of the United States Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. The report, which forms a pamphlet of one hundred and ten pages, is addressed to Messrs. Robert Dale Owen and James McKaye, through whom it is laid before the Secretary of War. Beginning with a general view of the condition of the freedmen who have found shelter in Canada, Dr. Howe proceeds to show that they are an honest, industrious and useful class in society, and that their history solves affirmatively the problem whether the black man is or is not capable of taking care of himself in a state of freedom.

There are twenty thousand of these refugees in Canada, of all colors, from the deep black of the pure African (who runs away from his "master" without the slightest regard to the rights of property) to the white slave (who runs because he is white, getting off the easier on account of his paleness, which enables him "to pass himself off as a white man"—as the advertisements in the Southern newspapers used to phrase it in the days when compromise was talked of in Congress and there was yet no war). All these shades of color combine to form orderly and industrious communities in Canada. They are living in the large towns of St. Catherine's, Hamilton, London, Toronto, Chatham, Buxton, Windsor, Malden and Colchester, and are scattered through the villages and upon farms, the latter they assiduously till. The best estimates show that between thirty thousand and forty thousand escaped slaves have from first to last found refuge in Canada, but the present number is reckoned at about twenty thousand. It is amusing to think how the Canadian census-takers must have been deceived by the light color of some of these people, whom they counted as "white"; whereas any Southern gentleman, had he been appealed to, could at once have settled the question by looking at the pink finger-nails of the runaway octoroons. Nevertheless, approximately, there are twenty thousand runaways from the blessings of bondage, and of the present condition of these freed men and women Dr. Howe made a searching and judicious observation.

For many years the refugees were mostly men; the women could not so easily escape. Once safe beyond pursuit, the runaway settled himself into a convenient place and went to work, and, according to the record, worked diligently. His next step was to establish a home. For want of a woman of his own race to marry, he intermarried with a white; and Dr. Howe reports that these marriages "were mostly with Irish or other foreign women." Dr. Litchfield, medidal superintendent of one of the public institutions of Canada, says: "It is not uncommon here for a colored tradesman to marry a white woman"; and he enumerates ten or twelve Irish domestics in one town who thus espoused black men. Within the last twenty or thirty yerrs, however, very many of the refugees have contrived to redeem their wives or sweethearts from bondage, working late and early with undiminished zeal to pay the price of human flesh demanded by the regulations of Southern life. Slave women, too, heard about Canada, and learned the way. Other colored women emigrated from the Northern and Western States; so that the numerical disparity between the sexes began to lessen, and continues so to do. This tends to check amalgamation.

The material condition of the freedmen is just now a subject of anxious study with philanthropists. In Canada, it is to be remembered, the negro's tropical blood is compelled to endure a rigorous climate, his whole race is forced to combat the prejudice of the whites against negroes, to struggle for the educational privileges of the public schools, and to begin life independently after many years of servitude. No Freedmen's Aid Societies, free schools, free lands or government help have assisted the struggles of these people. Yet, notwithstanding the obstacles they have been compelled to encounter, we now learn officially that "no sensible persons in Canada charge the refugees with slothfulness"; they "do not beg, and receive no more than their share of public support, if even so much"; there is "positive and tangible proof of their will and ability to work and support themselves, and gather substance even in the hard climate of Canada." We quote these emphatic phrases from Dr. Howe's report.

In the town of London there are seventy-five colored families who pay taxes. In St. Catherine's (says a Canadian, Col. Stephenson), the "negroes have furniture when the Irish have none." In Hamilton, says Dr. Ridley, the colored patients of the physicians are all able to pay a moderate fee. In Malden, seventy-one tax-payers out of five hundred and fifty are colored. In Toronto, with a colored population of nine hundred out of a total of forty-five thousand, the blacks pay yearly between two thousand and three thousand dollars for taxes.

The moral and social condition of the negro colonists, living outside of the towns, is dwelt upon by Dr. Howe, and his verdict is favorable; but we have space only for the following extracts from the general inferences with which he concludes his report:

"That, with entire freedom of movement and security from oppression, much of the colored population of the Northern and Western States will be drawn by the natural laws which govern movements of peoples towards the tropical regions, carrying with them social influences which will soften the ferocity now prevalent and be beneficial in many respects.

"That the negroes of the South are capable of self-guidance and support without other protection than will be needed by poor whites; and that they will be loyal supporters of any government which insures their freedom and rights.

"That when living in communities with whites, in not greater proportion than one thousand to fifteen or twenty thousand, antagonism of race will hardly be developed, but the negroes will imitate the best features of white civilization, and will improve rapidly.

"That it is not desirable to have them live in communities by themselves.

"That they will not be idle, but industrious and thrifty, and that there will be less pauperism among them than is usual among our foreign emigrants.

"That by their industry and thrift they will forward the industrial interests of the country, without the fearful demoralization heretofore caused by their oppression and debasement."

The elaborate statistical and general information given in this report merits a careful study, and Dr. Howe's deductions throw much light upon a vexed question.—*Evening Post.*

GEORGE THOMPSON.

From The Independent.

WHEN George Thompson first visited the United States, it was in the infancy of the anti-slavery struggle, and therefore at a period when the rule of the slavocracy was absolute over the entire North, and gross darkness covered the minds of the people on the subject of slavery. He came not as an Englishman, with the prejudices of birth and the odor of nationality about him, but in the spirit of a Christian philanthropist, admiring and extolling all that was free in America, and animated by a sincere desire to help deliver our land from a deadly curse, through the power of persuasion and the promulgation of the truth. Dreading the effect of his eloquence upon the popular mind, if he were allowed to be freely heard, every weapon that pro-slavery maligunity could manufacture was used for his destruction. He was accused of being an emissary employed by the British government, with his pockets filled with British gold, for the purpose of "breaking up our glorious Union"; and this ridiculous accusation, being readily swallowed by a prejudiced and ignorant multitude, more than anything else, endangered his life while he remained in this country. What he then suffered and perilled, and what he accomplished in behalf of the cause he so devotedly espoused, this is not the place to record.

His second visit was in 1850, at the time of the passage of the infamous Fugitive Slave law, and the other slaveholding compromises. It was a period of gloom on the part of the friends of freedom, and of jubilation among the lords of the lash and their Northern abettors. Webster had sold his manhood for less than a mess of Southern pottage, and basely bowed his knee to slavery. Nevertheless, the anti-slavery cause had made powerful advances; and, consequently, Mr. Thompson was received with far less bitterness than on his first visit.

He now comes in the midst of the clash of arms and the roar of cannon between a divided country, whose unity he had labored to perpetuate on the solid foundation of universal freedom, and in whose welfare and preservation he takes the same generous interest as of old. He comes to find whatever is truly loyal in the land, whether North or South, on the side of freedom for all, without distinction of color or race—more than three-fourths of the entire slave population declared FREE FOREVER under the proclamation of President Lincoln, and slavery in the Border States rapidly disappearing—a hundred thousand colored soldiers, "armed and equipped as the law directs for military duty," and a general determination to exterminate the slave system in suppressing the rebellion, thus redeeming democratic institutions from the reproach which has been heaped upon them, and making this, truly, "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

No one more quickly heard, or more intelligently interpreted the meaning of the first shot fired at Sumter than Mr. Thompson; and, from that time till now, he has generously consecrated his time and gifts in the service of the American government, with his pen and voice, his untiring industry and admirable tact, his organizing power and stirring eloquence, and his perfect knowledge of American affairs, baffling the Southern secessionists on British soil, exposing British sympathizers with the rebellion, and most efficiently helping to elicit those many powerful expressions of popular sentiment in behalf of the Federal Administration, by which the British government has been held in check, and a sanguinary war between the two countries averted.

What, then, is due to Mr. Thompson at the hands of all loyal men—of all lovers of Republican institutions? Respect, gratitude, and the warmest welcome. Let Boston set the example of a series of ovations which shall spread from city to city, from one section of the country to the other; whereby, in honoring him, we shall procure honor for ourselves, make at least partial atonement for the past, strengthen the struggling cause of freedom in the old world, and give a fresh impulse to those patriotic sentiments and measures which shall speedily terminate the rebellion, and crown our republic with victory, peace, universal liberty, and the blessing of Almighty God!

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

"WHEN THE PRINCE IS PASSING BY."

(INSCRIBED TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN.)

IN Corea, when the Prince passes by with step of state,
All the people shut their doors, and their windows closely bar;
And woe betide the laggard who is caught without the gate,
When the Prince is passing by, under sun or under star!

Partly fear and partly hate prompts them thus to hide away
When the Prince is passing by, so that silence reigns supreme,
As in cities in the sea, visible at close of day,
Or in the enchanted hall, in the poet's princely dream.

But it matters little now, save to illustrate the lay,
And contrast it with this hour, when another Prince goes by!
When Emancipation rides through his broad domains to-day,
And we do not close the doors or the windows from his eye.

But we open wide each gate, and from every outpost fling
To the breeze his stainless flag, fearing not to stand and see
How the shadows backward leap, and the sunbeams forward spring,
And the Nation's pulse is quickened by the President's decree.

And the Prince is passing by! Waited for—expected long—
Prayed for by the slave in chains—on the block and at the stake—
Patient-hearted under wrong—suffering, yet growing strong—
Looking forward to the day when he should their shackles break.

How they throng the path he takes; how they follow in his tread!
How the very infants spring in their mothers' arms to-day!
What blessings are invoked, as he bows his stately head,
And smiles upon the Freedmen as he passes on his way.

Are there any bolted doors? Are there any windows draped?
Be sure no child of freedom calls that his home and hearth;
The viper's head is hidden, for the victim has escaped
From the land of sin and shame that has darkened all the earth!

And the Prince is passing by! Send your shouts of welcome forth!
Never heed the Corean law, in this later, brighter day;
Now the freedmen of the South are as freemen in the North,
And Slavery's doom is sealed, and the Curse has passed away.

Harlem, N. Y., Feb. 3d, 1864. WILLIAM E. PABOR.

THE PRAYER OF ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND.

IN the Senate of the United States, Tuesday, Feb. 9, 1863.

Mr. SUMNER.—Mr. President: I offer a petition which is now lying on the desk before me. It is too bulky for me to take up. I need not add that it is too bulky for any of the pages of this body to carry. This petition marks a stage of public opinion in the history of slavery and also in the suppression of the rebellion. As it is short I will read it:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

The undersigned, women of the United States above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your honorable body will pass at the earliest practicable day an act emancipating all persons of African descent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States.

There is also a duplicate of this petition signed by "men above the age of eighteen years."

It will be perceived that the petition is in rolls. Each roll represents a State. For instance, here is New York with a list of seventeen thousand seven hundred and six names; Illinois with fifteen thousand three hundred and eighty; and Massachusetts with eleven thousand six hundred and forty-one. But I will read the abstract with which I have been furnished:

State.	*Men.*	*Women.*	*Total.*
New York	6,519	11,187	17,706
Illinois	6,382	8,998	15,380
Massachusetts	4,248	7,392	11,641
Pennsylvania	2,259	6,366	8,625
Ohio	3,676	4,654	8,330
Michigan	1,741	4 441	6,182
Iowa	2,025	4,014	6,039
Maine	1,225	4,362	5,587
Wisconsin	1,639	23.91	4,030
Indiana	1,075	2,591	3.666
New Hampshire	393	2,261	2,654
New Jersey	824	1,709	2,533
Rhode Island	827	1,451	2,278
Vermont	375	1,183	1,558
Connecticut	393	1,162	1,555
Minnesota	396	1,094	1,490
West Virginia	82	100	182
Maryland	115	50	165
Kansas	84	74	158
Delaware	67	70	137
Nebraska	13	20	33
Kentucky	21		21
Louisiana (New Orleans)		14	14
Citizens of the United States living in New Brunswick	19	17	36
	34,399	65,601	100,000

These several petitions are consolidated into one petition, being another illustration of the motto on our coin—*E pluribus unum.*

This petition is signed by one hundred thousand men and women, who unite in this unparalleled number to support its prayer. They are from all parts of the country and from every condition of life. They are from the sea-board, fanned by the free airs of the ocean, and from the Mississippi and the prairies of the West, fanned by the free airs which fertilize that extensive region. They are from the families of the educated and uneducated, rich and poor, of every profession, business, and calling in life, representing every sentiment, thought, hope, passion, activity, intelligence which inspires, strengthens, and adorns our social system. Here they are, a mighty army, one hundred thousand strong, without arms or banners, the advance guard of a yet larger army.

But though memorable for their numbers, these petitioners are more memorable still for the prayer in which they unite. They ask nothing less than universal emancipation; and this they ask directly at the hands of Congress. No reason is assigned. The prayer speaks for itself. It is simple, positive. So far as it proceeds from the women of the country, it is naturally a petition, and not an argument. But I need not remind the Senate that there is no reason so strong as the reason of the heart. Do not all great thoughts come from the heart?

It is not for me, on presenting this petition, to assign reasons which the army of petitioners has forborne to assign. But I may not improperly add that, naturally and obviously, they all feel in their hearts, what reason and knowledge confirm, not only that slavery is the guilty origin of the rebellion, but that its influence everywhere, even outside the rebel States, has been hostile to the Union, always impairing loyalty, and sometimes openly menacing the national government. It requires no difficult logic to conclude that such a monster, wherever it shows its head, is a *national enemy*, to be pursued and destroyed as such, or at least to be abated as a nuisance to the national cause. The petitioners know well that Congress is the depository of those supreme powers by which rebellion, alike in its root and in its distant offshoots, may be surely crushed, and by which unity and peace may be permanently secured. They know well that the action of Congress may be with the coöperation of the slave-masters, or even without their coöperation under the overruling law of military necessity or the commanding precept of the Constitution "to guarantee to every State a Republican form of government." Above all they know well, that to save the country from peril, especially to save the national life, there is no power, in the ample arsenal of self-defence, which Congress may not grasp; for to Congress under the Constitution, belongs the prerogative of the Roman dictator to see that the Republic receives no detriment. Therefore to Congress these petitioners now appeal. I ask the reference of the petition to the Select